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HADLEY WEST STREET COMMON AND GREAT MEADOW: A CULTURAL LANDSCAPE STUDY

A MASTERS OF LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE PROJECT

BY PATRICIA LAURICE ELLSWORTH

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A CULTURAL LANDSCAPE STUDY

A MASTERS OF LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE PROJECT

BY PATRICIA LAURICE ELLSWORTH
This project is dedicated to the memory of Homer Smith Ellsworth, because trees are the answer.
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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this plan is to provide an historical narrative of the Hadley Common, as well as documentation and analysis of the site’s historic landscape features and characteristics. This study also identifies, describes, and assesses the integrity of some of the historically significant aspects of the Common.

The West Street Common and Great Meadow of Hadley are located in the town of Hadley, in Hampshire County in western Massachusetts (Figure 1). West Street, historically known as “the broad street,” “Old Hadley Street,” “the River Street,” or even simply, “the Street,” was laid out in 1659. For the sake of consistency, the West Street Common is referred to as the Hadley Common, or the Common, in this document. This landscape of common fields and common street retains much of its seventeenth-century character, since the basic agricultural and residential land use patterns established at that time still exist.

Prior to settlement by the Puritans, the land had supported the Norwottucks, a Native American people living in the area of Hadley for thousands of years. This study begins with the English settlement of Hadley, however, and describes the evolution of the landscape of the Hadley Common to the present. Existing and potential archeological resources of the area are not described here.

Hadley was settled by religious dissenters from Hartford, Wethersfield and Windsor, Connecticut in 1659. Within the first two years of their habitation, these “engagers”, as they were called, had laid out what would be the essential fabric of the town of Hadley for the next seventy years: a system of houses lining both sides of a street twenty rods\(^1\) (330 feet) in width and nearly a mile long, with highways (a seventeenth and eighteenth century term meaning a public road) extending into commonly held meadow, grazing, and woodlands located behind the rows of “homelots.” After 1675 the broad street and abutting houses were protected by wooden fortifications, or palisades. This street and the associated common fields formed the town center of Hadley until 1713, when the fortifications guarding the settlement were removed. This change indicated the greater security of the area following years of warfare, and allowed the eventual development of Middle Street and other areas of Hadley. Settlement beyond the town center would lead to the creation of other towns on parts of the lands originally granted as part of the Hadley “plantation,” including Amherst, South Hadley, and Granby, as well as the neighborhoods that would remain within the modern town of Hadley, including Hockanum, Hartsbrook, North Hadley, Plainville, and Russellville.
As the town expanded, a conflict arose regarding the location of the town center. As the population of Middle Street (created in 1684 and inhabited after 1713) grew, the general population of the town shifted eastward, leading some to feel that the center of Hadley had shifted eastward to the “Back Street,” as it was originally known. As early as 1808, when a new meetinghouse was needed to replace the existing eighteenth-century structure, dissent emerged about the proper location of the new building. Some Middle Street residents proposed the new building should be built there, an idea that was rejected by the residents of along the Common, who wanted to maintain the town center as it existed. The families along the Common prevailed, but only for a time. The “feud of the streets,” finally resulted in the removal of the meetinghouse in 1841 from its original location on the Common to its current site south of the 1841 Town Hall along Middle Street. This removal effectively ended the Common’s role as the functional town center. But partly as a result of this shift, the residential and agricultural pattern of land use around the Hadley Common has remained relatively unchanged since the nineteenth century.

While the Common’s role as the active center of Hadley was ended, it remained a significant symbolic center. The nostalgia felt for the area as the historic center of the community, did not entirely protect it however from the effects of modernization. The completion of the railroad in 1887, followed by the electric trolley in 1899, and the first paved road in 1904 altered the experience of the Hadley Common. For the first two centuries of its existence, people in Hadley mainly traveled either north or south, up and down the Common or one of the streets (Middle, and eventually, East Street) parallel to it. By the late nineteenth century this pattern began to shift, and travel east and west became more important than north and south. This change isolated the common, for instead of traveling the length of the street when traveling through Hadley, one merely passed through the center of the Common, perpendicular to its length. This change in the way people moved around and through town changed the way people thought about and experienced the Common as well. In the twentieth century, the town continued to expand along the east-west corridor that became Route 9, a pattern of growth which again helped preserve the nineteenth-century residential character of the Hadley Common.

In recent decades, the historical significance of the Hadley Common landscape has been recognized. In 1977 the Hadley Center Historic District was listed in the National Register of Historic Places. In 1994 the Hadley Common and the Great Meadow were included through a boundary expansion to the existing historic district (Figure 2).²

Today the common is only somewhat altered from its original dimensions: it decreased in width by sixty feet at some
The Common had also shortened in length by approximately 280 feet, due to the erosive effects of the Connecticut River on the north end of the street. The Common is maintained by the Hadley Board of Selectmen, various abutting owners, the Hadley Historic Commission, and the Hadley Highway Department. Other town committees, such as the Shade Tree Committee, are involved less frequently in decision-making about the Common. The 136 parcels comprising the Great Meadow today are maintained by eighty-seven individual owners.

Methodology

This Hadley West Street Common and Great Meadow Cultural Landscape Study follows guidelines provided by the Massachusetts Department of Conservation and Recreation, (formerly the Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management), through their City and Town Common Preservation 2000 Initiative, and uses methods suggested by the National Park Service in *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques*. Based on these guidelines, the goal of this study is to provide a broad overview of the historical development of the Common, current site conditions, and an assessment of historic significance and integrity of the landscape.

The study area for the project includes the associated adjacent meadows also laid out at the time of the town’s settlement. The Common, homelots, and Great Meadow were all laid out as parts of one settlement; together they comprise one cultural landscape. The basic pattern of this landscape dates to the seventeenth century. This report treats the entirety of this historically significant landscape of common street and fields, including the Common itself, the fields behind the houses along the Common, and the fields north and south of Cemetery Road. This larger cultural landscape embodies the significant social, political, economic, and agricultural histories of the community of Hadley.

The boundary of the study area for this project is the Connecticut River on the north, south and west. The study area extends from the western tip of the Great Meadow (known as the Honey Pot), to the back lines of the home lots along the eastern side of the Common (Figure 3).

Sources consulted during the research process include the general collection of the Hadley Historical Society, the files of the Hadley Historical
Commission, and the maps and collections at the Massachusetts State Archives. The University of Massachusetts, Amherst Special Collections were consulted, as were the Forbes Library and Jones Library special collections.

Documentation and analysis of the character and significance of the Hadley Common was accomplished through study of the cultural landscape characteristics and features of the common, as identified in *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports*. These characteristics and features “include tangible and intangible aspects of a landscape, which individually and collectively give a landscape its historic character.” The following landscape characteristics were used in the documentation and analysis of the Hadley West Street Common:

- **Natural Systems and Features** – those natural systems which influence the creation and form of the landscape
- **Topography** – the three-dimensional form of the landscape
- **Spatial Organization** – the arrangement of elements which define and create spaces
- **Land Use** – use of land and the forms resulting from such use
- **Circulation** – systems of movement in, through, and around a landscape
- **Buildings and Structures** – three-dimensional constructed elements such as houses, barns, and bridges
- **Vegetation** – Significant trees, shrubs, groundcovers, and other herbaceous materials
- **Views and Vistas** – Natural or designed features which create a specific visual scene
- **Small-Scale Features** – Detail features which may be functional or aesthetic.

Part One gives an historical overview of six defined periods in the history of the Hadley Common, as well as documentation of significant landscape characteristics and features during each period. Part Two analyzes current conditions and evaluates landscape significance and integrity. While the entire history of the common from 1659-2003 is presented in Part One, Part Two focuses on the period of significance, as determined by this research.

The site history included in Part One is organized into five historical periods:

- 1659-1713 Settlement
- 1713-1790 Divisions and Expansion
- 1790-1841 A Shifting Town Center
- 1841-1904 Modernization
- 1904-1954 Commemoration and Removal
- 1954-2003 Present

Based on the information gathered from the study of the history of Hadley, a period of significance for the Common landscape and Great Meadows is suggested in this study. Period of significance is defined by the Secretary of the Interior as “the span of time for which a landscape attains historical significance.” The period of significance is the span of years during which the most significant events, activities and perceptions of the community that shaped the physical elements of the landscape occurred. “Integrity” also has particular meaning; it refers to the degree to which the landscape retains the physical characteristics that allow it to convey its historical significance today. For the Hadley Common and the Great Meadow, this period of
significance suggested here includes the first four historical periods described above, the years 1659-1904. The period opens with the settlement of the community by Euro-Americans. The end of this period represents a drastic change in the history of the landscape, as modernization new transportation technology permanently altered the patterns of circulation, growth, and perception of the landscape. The entire history of Hadley up to the present day is, of course, significant and of great interest. It is also summarized in this study. The original development of most of the historically significant landscape characteristics and features in the study area, however, occurred between 1659 and 1904, making this an appropriate period of significance for the historic district.
PART 1: Contextual History and Landscape Descriptions

The settlers of the Connecticut River Valley arrived originally from various parts of England, Wales and Scotland. With them they brought patterns of settlement and property division which they applied to create their new towns. Many of these towns were even named after English towns from which the proprietors the new towns had originally come. The town of Hadley was named after Hadleigh in Suffolk County, England, a county from which several proprietors originated. Perhaps one of the most intriguing facts about this transfer of patterns of settlement from the Old to the New World, is that while the system of town and associated open/common fields was often applied in the settlement of the Connecticut River Valley, many of the proprietors that established these towns came from villages in England where these patterns generally no longer existed.

In England the village was the “predominant form of settlement.” Though the form of these villages varied depending on location, they generally fell into three types: the village located around a green or square, the village strung out along a single street, and the dispersed village, appearing as a random grouping of houses. The village located around a central green was a type developed for defensive purposes, as this pattern was more easily fortified. The green generally contained the primary public buildings, such as the church and school, as well as other essential structures, such as the village well. This type of village was most commonly found in the eastern part of England.

When these villages were laid out, not matter what form they took, there were also open fields which were established with the village. Open fields developed for a number of reasons, including the ability to share labor and tools. However, the main reason open fields came about was to supply land for grazing livestock, especially in those areas with a shortage of pasture. Though the terms open fields and common fields are sometimes used interchangeably, there are distinct differences. Open fields are simply fields made up of unenclosed strips owned by many individuals. Common fields are open fields “over which common rules of cultivation are known to have operated.”

Open fields were made up of blocks called furlongs. Furlongs within the same field could vary in both shape and size. Each furlong was further divided into individual strips of land, all running the same direction (Figure 4). The strip was the basic unit of cultivation within the open field. However, strips

Figure 4: Map of English town showing common, furlongs and strips.
(Source: C.S. and C.S. Orwin, The Open Fields.)
varied in size regionally, depending on soil type and topography. The standard strip was approximately 220 yards long by twenty-two yards, and contained between one-third to one-half of an acre.\textsuperscript{17}

The open fields were subject to what is known as Lammas pasture rights, which was the, “the right of burgesses to graze cattle and sheep over the open fields after the harvest had been taken in whether they owned land in the fields or not.”\textsuperscript{18} The right to graze animals in the fields after harvest extended to other inhabitants of the village as well. The grazing period generally ran from October to February. This provided pasture for livestock in areas where extra land for animals was scarce, and had the added benefit of improving the soil through fertilization with manure.\textsuperscript{19}

If the open field was managed in common, this allowed sharing of labor and tools, such as communal plowing, where strips were “plowed successively for each contributor to the plow team.”\textsuperscript{20} The common field also involved a system of crop rotation within the fields, with some fields remaining fallow each year. Communal decisions were also frequently made regarding which crops should be grown within the fields and where. The fallow field(s) provided pasture for animals year round. Common herding for livestock was also practiced in this system.\textsuperscript{21}

As mentioned previously, some Hadley settlers came from Suffolk, one of the counties in the region of England known as East Anglia. Hadley proprietors largely originated from East Anglia and the neighboring county of Essex (Figure 5).\textsuperscript{22} As open field systems varied somewhat depending upon which region of the country they were located, a brief discussion of the classic Midlands system and the East Anglian/Essex system will illustrate some of these regional differences.

The Midland system is considered to be “the fully-developed classic common field system.”\textsuperscript{23} As most open field systems, the Midland system developed in response to a lack of pasturage for livestock.\textsuperscript{24} The Midland system was generally composed of two or three fields surrounding the village. These fields, “were of approximately equal sizes and the strips of a normal holding were distributed approximately equally between them.”\textsuperscript{25} This ensured that each inhabitant shared in all the types within the fields, so that one did not have all their holdings in fields with richer or poorer soil than others, but that they were distributed equally. It also ensured that a villager did not have all their holdings within a

\hspace{1cm} Figure 5: Map of the historic counties of England and Wales. The counties from which the Hadley proprietors originated, and numbers of proprietors from each one, are indicated by the shaded areas.
fallow field at the same time. C.C. Taylor, in his essay “Archaeology and the Origins of Open Field Agriculture,” quotes four main elements of the Midland system:

1. “both arable and meadow were divided into strips among the cultivators;
2. both arable and meadow lands were thrown open for common pasturing at certain times;
3. there existed common rights over waste; and
4. the ordering of these activities was regulated by some form of assembly of the people involved.”

Generally fields within the Midland system were ordered so that one of the fields was fallow each year. This was especially important in the Midland region, as pasture was limited, and there existed, “common rights of pasturage throughout the year over the field which lay fallow.”

The Essex system was very similar to the East Anglian and the two will be considered together. Though the basic open field form remains the same between the Midland and East Anglian systems, there are some slight, but important differences. For example, the East Anglian system was not grouped into two or three fields of equal sizes. Instead, the “township contained between seven and sixteen open fields of widely varying size.” The individual holdings were not dispersed evenly among these fields, and were instead concentrated within a few of the fields. Because of this, there was not a system of crop rotation with entire fields left fallow. Instead fallow strips, crops and mowing strips were combined into one field. These strips were generally one-half acre in size. As there were no fields left entirely fallow during the year to provide pasture for livestock, there were often set aside separate pastures known as “sheep’s courses” for this purpose. This was only possible because land available for pasture was more common in East Anglia than the Midlands. Fields were still opened for grazing after the harvest was in, generally October through February.

While the open field system was once widespread across England, only remnants remain today, the pattern preserved underneath grass in pastures created during parliamentary enclosure. Enclosure was the act by which strips, and even furlongs, were consolidated into larger fields owned by a single individual. These fields were then “enclosed” by a hedge or fence. Acts of enclosure began long before long before the period of parliamentary enclosures in 1750-1850. Private enclosures began as early as the thirteenth century. Generally those counties enclosed earliest were those that contained “an abundance of pasture in the area.” Those areas without this abundance were more reliant on the open field system because of the associated rights of common pasture. Among those counties enclosed early were Essex and eastern Suffolk. Piecemeal enclosures continued over the next six centuries. By the sixteenth century, Essex was described as “one of those counties ‘where most enclosures be.” By 1608, over half of Essex had been enclosed. The form which the open field system took in these areas (Essex and East Anglia) also facilitated earlier enclosure. Since holdings were not dispersed among all fields, they were more easily consolidated. East Anglia also experienced much enclosure in the sixteenth century and seventeenth centuries, though this enclosure was mostly focused in the eastern and southern parts of the counties. These private enclosures continued up until the start of parliamentary enclosures in 1750, after which enclosure was mainly by private act of parliament. During the period of parliamentary enclosure, the remaining open fields in Essex
and East Anglia were enclosed. Open fields were completely eliminated in Essex by 1823. The Midlands were most affected by the parliamentary acts of enclosure, as these counties contained the most open fields as these enclosures began.

The majority of the colonists of New England came from southeastern England, those counties most enclosed at the time of the English settlement of the New World. Despite this, the pattern of village with associated open fields was applied widely across New England. This however was not a form common in other areas of the New World settled around the same time. There were several reasons why this form of settlement appealed to the colonizers of New England. The open field village was type familiar to the English settlers, even if it was not one in common use at the time in the county from which they originated. Thus the New England town developed as “an American version of the English parish,” applying the English forms of government, settlement patterns and land division in a manner which best suited their “puritan concept of community.” The open field system also coincided with the puritan values of the colonists, as it allowed proprietors access to all types of land within the settlement, including lands within the valuable intervals. Open fields were also important as pasture for the livestock of the settlers. This became important in the Connecticut River Valley, where lands beyond the intervale meadows were generally forested and pasture was limited.

While the English pattern of village settlement was the model for town creation in New England, this pattern was freely applied to suit the individual needs of the town. Villages laid out generally fell into one of the three types described above. Though it is often perceived that the nucleated settlement around a street or green was the main form of towns in New England, the dispersed village was also common. Linear street villages prevailed in the Connecticut River Valley as this form was well suited to the river valley topography, and was also a fairly defensible layout. The concern settlers had regarding the defense of their town increased the farther the settlement was located from Boston. Dispersed settlements tended to develop in areas in which the population was larger and the town more secure. Nucleated villages disappeared early from those areas of New England first settled, with evolution to “dispersed settlement and enclosed fields in eastern Massachusetts and coastal Connecticut by the early 1660s.”

No matter which form the village took, the layout and division of lands followed a similar pattern throughout New England. A town grant was first required from the General Court to establish a new settlement. The village would then be laid out, with streets, highways and homelots, and often a separate green or parade ground, as well as a lot for the meetinghouse. The lands within the open fields were divided next. Proprietors were then each awarded a house lot and usually one or more planting lots. These planting lots were maintained collectively, and as meadows, pastures, woodlands and other unappropriated lands were held in common and subject to regulation by the town’s proprietors. Decisions were made jointly at regularly held, mandatory town meetings about what to plant, when to harvest or how much wood families could cut for their own use. In some cases, the community as a whole dictated under what circumstances one would be allowed to sell personal property. In Hadley, it was ordered that “no man shall have liberty to sell any of this land till he shall inhabit and dwell in the town three years; and also to sell it to no person, but such as the town shall approve on.”
Towns generally contained “five types of common land: the meetinghouse lot, cemetery, militia training field, the main road through the town, and common agricultural lands.” Some of these common uses were combined into one space, such as town greens which frequently combined the meetinghouse lot and the militia training field, and in the case of linear settlements, included the common street as well. Agricultural fields, or meadows, were laid out adjacent to the home lots and main street of the town. In the Connecticut River Valley these meadows were located on the fertile intervale lands adjacent to the river. These open fields were divided into strips and furlongs with highways serving as “division lines” between the furlongs. Individual strips within the furlongs were then marked by meerstones at the corners of each plot. The entire field was then surrounded by a common fence, except where a river or mountain served as a natural boundary to the meadow. These meadows were laid out in the open field pattern, and also were managed communally as common fields. This included the practices of communal plowing, herding and decisions regarding crop rotation. In addition to the common agricultural fields and the common street or green, some towns also contained stated commons, often known as “sheep commons” which provided year round pasture for livestock.

Nucleated villages retained this form longer in the Connecticut River Valley than in many other parts of New England; surviving with common fields and other communal practices intact in some locations until the mid-1700s. This especially was true for those settlements which were isolated and more vulnerable to attack, such as Deerfield and Northfield, where a centralized village and communal practices were beneficial to the security of the settlement. The limited amounts or arable intervale land in communities largely composed of farmers was perhaps another reason this pattern persisted in the Connecticut River Valley. The open field system allowed for a more equitable division of these valuable lands.

As towns within the Connecticut River Valley developed and populations increased, some of the original communal practices of the town, though necessary initially during the period of settlement, gradually became obsolete. As in England, the majority of the open fields were slowly consolidated and “enclosed” into the rectangular fields seen commonly today. The common street or green also evolved as towns grew. However, it was not until the village improvement movement between 1840 and 1880, that these commons developed into the form with which we are familiar today. This movement focused on the aesthetic appearance of the common, as part of a romanticized view of the historic New England town, with a “tree-shaded, grassy common, punctuated by a church steeple.” During this period, if no common existed, one was often created from a convenient vacant lot or other parcel of undeveloped land.

Commons today owe much their appearance to these improvements of the nineteenth century. They are appreciated as valuable historic resources, and are often considered to be the physical and symbolic heart of their community. Unfortunately, many today are threatened by traffic, development and even overuse. The Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management, in their publication Common Wealth: how to protect the heritage and invest in the future of your town common, has identified several of the “contemporary challenges to historic commons, including: changing context (traffic, etc) incremental fragmentation, compacted soils and dying trees, the loss of skills to maintain and care for commons, a lack of overall design and master planning, intensive and inappropriate uses of commons, and just generally taking commons for granted.”
1659-1713: Settlement

Historical Overview

The land that would become Hadley had been inhabited for at least 11,000 years prior to the arrival of the Puritan settlers. These peoples recognized the richness of the intervale land formed by the sedimentary deposits of the Connecticut River. They farmed it for at least 1,000 years prior to English settlement. The Norwottucks who inhabited the Hadley area grew corn and other crops such as beans and squash in these rich meadows. They maintained the forest to the east as a hunting ground through selective burning that eliminated underbrush and encouraged grasses. According to Hadley historian Sylvester Judd, by the time of English settlement, the land encompassed “Indian corn-fields, green meadows, grassy uplands in scattered, open woods, and dense forests on wet lands. The first settlers of Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield, found plenty of land ready for the plow, and began to raise Indian corn and other grain, and to mow grass, as soon as they had fixed themselves in these places.”

As a part of the land purchase agreement in 1653, the meadow land of the peninsula was to be cultivated by the settlers at Northampton on behalf of the Indians. These native peoples also reserved their right to hunt in lands sold to the engagers at Norwottuck. Due to smallpox and other epidemics, one wave of which swept the Connecticut Valley between 1630 and 1640, the number of Indians in the area of Hadley had been radically reduced, making any settlement by the English far easier then it may have been otherwise. The population had rebounded somewhat by 1660, but much damage had already been done.

The Dutch had originally discovered the Connecticut River in 1614, and built a fort at Hartford in 1633. Though the Dutch were aware of the rich land available north of the fort at Hartford, this would be the furthest extent of Dutch colonization in the Connecticut River Valley. That same year English settlers from the Plymouth colony arrived, eventually establishing their own towns. The towns of Wethersfield, Hartford, and Windsor were begun in 1635. From these settlements in Connecticut, other people began to move north and inhabit other “plantations” along the Connecticut River. In 1636, William Pynchon and others from the town of Roxbury settled at Springfield, north of the colony of Connecticut. The Pynchons would eventually become a great economic force in the river valley, and would play a role in the settlements at Northampton and Hadley. The spread of settlements north of Springfield would be halted for a time, however, because people dared move only as far north as the river was easily navigable.

This would change in 1653, when a group of men petitioned for a settlement north of Springfield, at Nonotuck. The General Court determined that the land there should be divided into two plantations. The land for the western plantation was purchased by John Pynchon in 1653. This plantation on the west side of the river, which would be Northampton, was settled in 1654, while the land on the east side of the river was reserved for another plantation.

The dissenters from the colonies of Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor determined to form their own settlement, since differences of opinion regarding “discipline, baptism, and the qualifications of church membership,” had caused a schism between themselves and the
churches at Hartford and Wethersfield. It was decided that the group would petition the colony of Massachusetts for a "plantation of land." In response to the petition, the General Court, "judgeth meet to grant their request, in reference to lands not already granted, and further gives them liberty to inhabit in any part of our jurisdiction already planted." In 1659, a committee was appointed to lay out the bounds of a town east of the plantation of Northampton. The land for the settlement was purchased by John Pynchon from the sachems Chickwollop, Umpanchella, and Quonquont of the Norwottuck, for the sum of "two hundred fathom of wampum, and twenty fathom and one large coat of eight fathom... besides several small gifts." An additional tract of land on the west side of the river was purchased in 1657. The total cost of all lands purchased was about 150 pounds. The settlement as set out by the committee would include lands on both sides of the river, and would stretch south to the falls at present-day South Hadley to Sugar Loaf, in what is now Deerfield, to the north.

The development of the Hadley Common and Great Meadow landscape was quite similar to that of other Connecticut River Valley towns. The traditional method of town settlement in New England involved a series of divisions in which land was divided and allotted to the various inhabitants. The first division established the village itself with a central green or street, a meetinghouse lot, and small home lots, as well as a town lot, and a lot for the minister. In the second division, allotments in the common fields, meadows, grazing lands, and woodlands were given. The settlers at Hadley followed this tradition of land division, while apparently modeling the physical location and layout of the town on the one that they had recently vacated, the town of Wethersfield in Connecticut. Nineteenth-century Hadley historian Sylvester Judd claimed that at Hadley, "the idea of a street so wide, [and the arrangement of structures along the street], may have been suggested by the Broad-street at Wethersfield." These villages were originally accompanied by an open field agricultural system. The original pattern of fields around the settlement of Hadley, as it can be reconstructed today from early documents (as well as later maps), indicates that an open field system was put in place by the "Engagers" that established the town in the 1650s and 1660s. This practice would have been typical of settlers of New England towns at the time. In the case of Hadley, only one of the common meadows, the Great Meadow, was immediately adjacent to the village, as the intervale land west of the settlement was the most suitable for cultivation. Other meadows were created elsewhere within the boundaries of the town, also from the intervales along the Connecticut. The Great Meadow was divided into strips and furrows, with strips assigned to individual owners. Common fields generally were surrounded by a commonly built and maintained fence unless some other natural boundary created a barrier to livestock. In the case of the Great Meadow, the land was bounded on three sides by the river, and on the fourth (east) side by the fences of the homelots and the common fences and gates maintained by the town on the roads leading to the meadow lands. Individual strips within the meadow were indicated by meerstones at each corner, and "in 1663, every man was ordered to bound his land with meerstones; those whose land adjoined, were to be called, to see the meerstones set down betwixt them." In the seventeenth century, the common fields at Hadley were cleared yearly on set days, September 29th for Hockanum and Fort Meadow, and the Great Meadow fourteen days later. After the clearing of the meadows, livestock were allowed to graze in the fields until snow fell.
After March 20th, the time appointed in spring for planting, fines were given to the owners of any animals found in the common fields. The remainder of the year, livestock were permitted in common grazing lands, many of which were in the woods, cleared annually of undergrowth by burning. In Hadley, common lands including the broad street and highways, were maintained collectively. The amount of work required from each head of household was determined by the amount of land belonging to him within the common meadows. Town records from 1693 state “that all Heds from 16 year old and upward shall work one day each year at ye hieways, and in ye next place he that hath 20 acres of medow land, to work one day for his land, and soe proporshonly for grater or lesser quantities”, and “that all Heds from 14 yere old and upwards shall worke one day annually when called out by ye selectmen, to cut brush or clean ye comons in ye month of June.” Any other public works in Hadley were completed within a common system as well.

The town of Hadley was inhabited, and roads, house lots, town and meetinghouse lots established in 1659, followed by the allotment of the common fields including the meadows, grazing lands, and woodlots. These lots were permanently assigned in 1661, and during the first two years of habitation the parcels in common lands were temporarily assigned to the men who worked them. The proprietors initially laid out forty-seven homelots along the broad street (the Common). Each of these homelots were to be eight acres in size, and for any lot which was smaller than the assigned acreage, the owner was to be provided additional lands in the meadows to remedy this inequity (Figure 6). A lot along the broad street, located north of the minister’s lot was also reserved for the town’s use. A lot on the south end of the street was reserved for a ferry lot, and in 1661 the lot was given to Joseph Kellogg, who agreed to operate a ferry between Hadley and Northampton.

Figure 6: Map of the Hadley Common in 1663. (Source: Nathaniel B. Sylvester, History of the Connecticut Valley, with illustrations and biographical sketches of some of its prominent men and pioneers, volume 1.)
There were four meadows initially laid out in the intervale land on the east side of the Hadley plantation: the Great Meadow, Forty-Acre Meadow, Fort Meadow, and Hockanum Meadow. These rich intervale meadows were one of the primary reasons the "Engagers" chose to settle at Hadley. The Great Meadow, located west of the town street, occupied the remainder of the Hadley peninsula, extending about two miles, from east to west, and was divided into smaller areas: Forlorn or the Honeypot, located in the northwest portion of the peninsula; the Meadow Plain, which was the portion of the meadow adjacent to the homelots; and Maple Swamp, located below the south highway into the meadows, which later was known as Aquavitae (Figure 7). This last portion was used mainly for mowing hay. The entirety of the Great Meadow, some 710 acres, was divided into 177 lots averaging four acres each, with highways into the meadows clustering lots into furlongs. Parcels in the meadow plain were allotted according to the amount each engager invested in the venture. Each was supplied with both plowing land and mowing land in the meadows (Figure 8).

The town burial ground would be created two years after the engagers arrived at Norwottuck, along the north side of the middle highway leading to common field lands, near the west edge of the property of Edward Church. The burial ground initially stretched from the highway 20 rods (330 feet) north, and was ten and one-half rods (173 ½ feet) from east to west, a total area of 210 square rods (3465 square feet), and has served the town for nearly 350 years.
In 1661, the settlement at Norwottuck, a form of the Native American name for the area meaning “in the midst of the river,” was incorporated as the town of Hadley, named after the village of Hadleigh of the county of Suffolk in England, from which county many of the settlers in Hartford, and subsequently Hadley, had come. As early as 1661, the town had voted to construct a meetinghouse “to be a place of public worship,” but the structure was not completed until 1670. Hampshire County was created in 1662, and Hadley was one of the three towns included within the county at this time, along with Northampton and Springfield. In 1663, the bounds of old Hadley were officially established by the Massachusetts General Court. Estimates indicate that at this time Hadley may have covered an area of some eighty-nine square miles. Eventually the inhabitants of Hadley on the west side of the river decided that the frequent necessity of crossing the Connecticut was too much of a hardship, and desired to create a separate settlement. The resulting town of Hatfield was incorporated in 1670.

Initially it appears that the inhabitants of Hadley had few problems with the native Norwottucks, and in fact engaged in active trade with them. However, in 1675, the Wampanoags joined with Nipmucks, Pocumtucks and Naragansetts in a bloody uprising led by Metacom, a Pokunoket chief, during King Philips War, the last major effort by the native peoples of southern New England to drive out English settlements. With increased concerns about attacks from hostile native nations, in 1675 the town voted to create a system of fortifications, “set up for the defense and security of the town on the east and west side...that on the west side [of] the street to defend the meadows from spoils and damage, and to be subject to the inspection of the fence viewers, and no man in any part of the fortifications above said shall have or make any particular outlet for himself or cattle into meadows or lots.”

The fear that prompted the construction of the palisade was further validated by an attack on Hatfield in 1677, and the destruction of Deerfield in 1704 by French forces and their native allies. As a result of the 1677 attack on Hatfield, the townspeople of Hadley voted to construct additional fortifications around the meetinghouse, in order that the women and children might have a place of refuge if the town were attacked.

By 1684, the town was already becoming crowded, and the inhabitants voted to create new home lots to the east of those located along the broad street, “excepting or sequestering 20 rods in breadth for a highway at the rear of the old homelots; to run from the north end of the town to Fort Meadow...leaving highways into the woods.” This created what is now Middle Street. The parcels, like those on the broad street, were to be eight-acre lots, measuring sixteen rods by eighty rods. With the continued threat of attack from the native allies of France, however, these plans would not be realized for almost thirty years, after the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht ending Queen Anne’s War in 1713.

Landscape Features and Characteristics, 1659 – 1713

Natural Systems and Features

The Connecticut River was the principle organizing element of the settlement at Norwottuck.
When Hadley was settled in 1659 the settlers laid out the town and its broad street across the neck of a peninsula formed by the Connecticut River. The Connecticut in its meanderings had also created a rich system of intervale meadows, the benefits of which were realized by those settlers at Hadley. But while the river had shaped the land which the “Engagers” would inhabit, the very forces that created the peninsula and the intervales would also slowly wear away at them. The erosive effects of the Connecticut River on the town were first noticed in town records in 1689 when the river had already worn away the western portion of the south highway to the woods as well as a small part of the homelot to the north of the highway.\(^{107}\) The effects of erosion and flooding would continue to shape the form of the town and its broad street.

### Topography

Overall, the topography of the Hadley peninsula was relatively flat, with noticeable changes in elevation at a local level. The surface of the broad street in its original state, however, was not the level ground it is today. The first meetinghouse, for instance, occupied an eight foot rise. North of this ridge was a goose-pond in which water stood year round. Another, similar pond near the west side of the street could be found in the vicinity of the Webster and Goodwin lots, and was sometimes crossed by a footbridge. In the lower, eastern part of the roadway, there was a long deep gulley through which water flowed in rains and thaws; the Connecticut flooded it during freshets. The town maintained a cart bridge over the ravine, one built in 1747, and another in 1770.\(^{108}\) The homelots, like the broad street itself, had many “ridges and rises,” some of these continuing into the street, a few being a significant enough change in elevation to allow young boys to slide down the ridges into the street. Many homes along the street were built on these rises, because the fronts of the lots were often wet.\(^{109}\)

### Spatial Organization

The town was laid out in a north–south line across the neck of the peninsula bounded by the Connecticut River on the north, south, and west sides. The broad street itself, one mile in length and twenty rods (330 feet) wide, was laid out first, with the river at both ends of the street. Extending outward from the broad street were six “highways,” three leading west to the meadow plain, and three leading east to the woods. Each “set” of highways (east and west) were arranged

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\(^{107}\) The effects of erosion and flooding would continue to shape the form of the town and its broad street.

\(^{108}\) The town maintained a cart bridge over the ravine, one built in 1747, and another in 1770.

\(^{109}\) Many homes along the street were built on these rises, because the fronts of the lots were often wet.
with a north lane, middle lane and south lane, which served to divide the town into quarters: northeast, northwest, southeast, and southwest (Figure 9).

Homelots were arranged along both sides of the right-of-way, and were fenced, by order of the town, helping to define the common space and to create a distinction between land that was commonly maintained and land that was privately maintained. Barns, sheds, gardens, and other necessities were usually located behind the homes. A full homelot was eight acres in size, sixteen rods (264 feet) wide along the street, and extending away from that point eighty rods (1320 feet), east or west, depending upon which side of the street the lot was located. Space was left between the northernmost homelots on the east side of the street and the river; later smaller lots were created there.

At the time that the street and home lots were laid out, the settlers of Hadley also began to consider the manner in which other common lands were to be divided, including the Meadows (agricultural lands), the Pine Plain, and grazing lands. These were allotted to each family or individual according to initial investment in the settlement. One of these main agricultural fields, known as the Great Meadow, constituted the majority of peninsula land between the town of Hadley and the Connecticut, just west of the Common. The eastern boundary of Hadley was forest, which the settlers called the Pine Plain, or simply “Woods.” With this wilderness creating one edge of the town, and the ever-present threat of attack by various groups of Native Americans, the settlers decided in 1676 to enclose the town through the construction of defensive fortifications (Figure 10).

Land Use

Agricultural land use in the original settlement of Hadley was highly mixed (Figure 11). While there were some areas, mainly the meadow lands, used for crops, the same fields would serve as pasture at certain times of the year. In the mid-nineteenth century, Sylvester Judd recorded that, “much of the higher parts of these intervals, that were not frequently flooded, were plowed from the beginning, and were sowed or planted almost every year, more than 100 years. Seldom was there a change from tillage to grass, or from grass to tillage.” As mentioned previously, the
Aquavitae meadow was cultivated mainly for mowing. Crop rotation in the meadows generally involved either corn and rye, corn and oats, or corn, oats and rye.\textsuperscript{111}

Wheat was a main agricultural crop grown in Hadley until 1700, when the decreased productivity of the intervale land caused farmers to stop sowing it. As wheat productivity decreased, some farmers turned to planting rye. Although it grew successfully, it appears that the crop was never planted extensively in the meadow lands. Other grains grown in Hadley included a wheat and rye mixture called meslin, barley for malt, and oats. Peas were also grown in Hadley, and continued to be grown in some parts of the town into the early twentieth century. Corn remained a staple crop throughout this period.\textsuperscript{112}

The homelots of the “Engagers” were even more complex, being residential and yet also agricultural. Many portions of the homelots sustained grasses for mowing.\textsuperscript{113} The street and the highways, while facilitating circulation throughout the town, also supported the grazing of livestock and other activities. Woodlots also served as pasture for much of the year.

One primary function of the common from the start was for transportation; from the laying out of the settlement, the wide swath of land at the center of town was set aside as a roadway. But in early America transportation and agricultural uses were not mutually exclusive. Roads were regularly used as pastures. Individuals were granted permission by the town to use roads into the meadows as pastures on the condition that they make and maintain the necessary gates and fences. In 1699, for example, John Nash was granted permission to use the middle lane (what is now Cemetery Road) as a pasture for ten years if he maintained the gate at the west end.\textsuperscript{114} The wide town street was an ideal spot for grazing. Sheep often grazed on the Common, as did geese and cows.

The Common, since it offered large unbroken expanses of ground, also provided space for necessary military functions. The wide road was an ideal parade ground and training field for the local militia.

\textit{Circulation}
The broad street, the primary artery of the town of Hadley, connected Hadley to Hatfield to the north (after 1670), and to Northampton, Springfield, and other towns south, all by means of ferries across the Connecticut River. Extending at right angles to the main street were six "highways," important to settlers because they provided access to necessary daily tasks. The North, Middle, and South highways to the woods led to lumber and grazing areas for animals; the North, Middle and South highways to the Meadows provided access to agricultural fields (Figure 12). The middle highway to the Meadow was six rods wide, and it is likely that the other highways were also, except the north highway to the woods, as the entire area left between the homelots on the north end of the street and banks of the river was used as a general right-of-way.115

The broad street and eleven other highways, or roads, were recorded as existing in 1665. The north highway to the woods may have been counted as a part of the broad street. The settlers at Hadley also extended a road constructed by those at Northampton on the east side of the river leading to Springfield, to the south highway extending west from the broad street, linking them to the towns south.116 The Bay Road, or Bay Path, as it was sometimes called, leading toward Boston, was in place in approximately its present position by 1688.117 The oxcart was the primary vehicle of transportation for many years after the settlement of the town. The predominant method of travel to Springfield and Hartford was by boat along the Connecticut River.

Travel between Northampton and Hadley was conducted by means of the south ferry, which traveled between the south end of the broad street and the Northampton meadow. In 1692 the first regular ferry was begun from the north end of the street, although the ferry was first mentioned in 1688. This ferry provided a link between Hatfield and Hadley. Less formally organized ferries provided service between those settlers on the west side of the river and those along the broad street before 1692. People also often traveled through use of personal boats or canoes to the west side of the river to tend to fields that they had been allotted on that side prior to the incorporation of Hatfield.

**Buildings and Structures**
After the main street in Hadley was laid out, forty-seven homelots were assigned along the street. In 1662, three small lots were created between the original homelots on the north end of the broad street and the river, along the north highway to the woods. In 1669, the town granted a houselot in the middle of the broad street near the north end, to J. Warriner. Three years later the town created eight other lots on the north east end of the street, north of the four small homelots existing there. The land divided for these lots had previously been used as a part of the north highway to the east, a way twenty to thirty rods wide stretching from the river to the four north-eastern homelot. The new homelots were located along the river, leaving a smaller highway to the south. By 1800 however, the lots on both sides of the highway had been washed away by the erosive effects of the river.

Originally there were forty-seven homelots built upon. By 1684, only four or five additional buildings had been added. Early homes throughout the Connecticut River Valley were generally one-story, two-room structures constructed of logs, measuring about eighteen feet long and sixteen feet wide, with thatched roofs. The use of shingles as a roofing material did not become widespread until about 1691. These original log homes were gradually replaced by larger, one-and-a-half- to two-storied structures with shingled roofs and clapboard siding.

Early on, homelots along the Common were fenced. For instance, the January 21, 1661 town meeting voted that homelots be well-fenced by middle of April. Approximately sixteen miles of fence were necessary to complete this task. The ends of the broad street as well as the west end of middle lane into woods were to be fenced by the town, with posts, rails and gates. Sixteen miles of fences enclosed forty acres. Homelot fences were likely post and rail-type fences, with "posts and two or three rails on the same." Homelot fences had to be of a sufficient size and strength to contain livestock. The town appointed men as fence viewers to make certain all fences were sufficient. All common fences were "to be 4 ½ feet high, or ditch and rails, or hedge equivalent thereto. To be so close as to keep out swine three months old." All who left open the gates to the common fields were fined.

A town pound was built in 1664 in the middle highway leading to the meadow (now Cemetery Road). Animals were driven at night into the pound to protect them from predators, and the enclosure also provided a pen for animals found loose in the common meadow lands. There was also a small house, called the town house, constructed on common land on the north side of this highway near the town pound in 1679 for Thomas Webster; this home would long remain to house Hadley's poor families.
Early on the Common was the center of religious life. The first meetinghouse, as voted by the town in 1661, was to be “45 feet in length and 24 feet in breadth, with Leantors [Leantos] on both sides, which shall enlarge the whole to 36 in breadth, . . . and shall be situated and set up in the common street, betwixt Mr. Terry’s house and Richard Montague’s, in the most convenient place.” It was determined that the meetinghouse should be built on the north end of the broad street to accommodate those Hadley settlers who resided on the west side of the river. However, the structure was not completed until 1670, the year Hatfield was incorporated, making its location on the north end unnecessary. The meetinghouse was likely not constructed as originally ordered in 1661. Apparently the leantos were never constructed and other changes may have also been made. The meetinghouse at Deerfield, constructed in 1675, may give an indication of what this first public house of worship in Hadley may have looked like, as there are no records of the Hadley structure as it was built (Figure 13). It is known however that the ends of the building were oriented east-west, with the main entrance likely located on the east side.

The first school-house to be built by the town also stood on the broad street, located near the southern side of the meetinghouse (Figure 14). The vote for its construction occurred in 1696, the structure completed in 1700. The building was 25 feet long and 18 feet wide. Prior to this school had been conducted within homes along West Street.

The settlers at Hadley constructed a system of fortifications beginning in 1675. This palisade was described as consisting “of two rows of pales, stakes or posts about ten feet in length, having two feet in the ground and eight feet above the ground . . . set close together in the earth, and were probably fastened to a piece of
The palisade fence was nearly a mile in length and forty rods (660 feet) in width, so that it did not include the entirety of the home lots, but the homes and the majority of the outbuildings. Five homelots on the north end of the broad street (those located along the north highway to the woods) were not included within the walls of the palisades. Also the home of John Russell Sr., the most southern lot on the town street, was not included within the fortified walls. All persons whose homes were excluded from the protection of the palisades were offered space inside the walls to reside until it was felt safe to remove them. There were gates on the north and south ends of the fortifications as well as at each of the highways. The palisades on the west side of the street were not constructed to the same measure as those on the east side, as the inhabitants felt that an attack from that side, guarded by the river and meadows, would not be as likely as one from the east, bounded by the woods as it was.

No buildings or structures from this period exist in the study area today.

**Vegetation**

To the east of the settlement was a forest that the people of Hadley referred to as the “Pine Plain” or simply “Woods”. Most likely a mixture of hardwoods and white pine, the understory of the forest was relatively free of trees and shrubs, due to the annual practice of burning the forest which the Native Americans started, and the settlers at Hadley continued. This vegetative “wall” essentially formed the eastern boundary of the town of Hadley until 1713 (Figure 15).

Most other vegetation was agricultural in nature, with crops planted in the Great Meadow and grasses cultivated for haying. The name of one of these haying meadows, Maple Swamp, suggests that there also may have existed some clumps of wetland species, such as willow and red maple, in the wetter soils of the peninsula.

**Views and Vistas**

Views of and from the broad street have long been a defining experience of the Hadley Common. The significance of the view of the valley and Hadley from the top of Mt. Holyoke had been realized early. One record states, “in the beginning of April (1676), a number of
inhabitants of Hadley...ventured out some distance...to the summit of Mount Holyoke, to view
the surrounding country from the peak."\textsuperscript{132}

The open expanse of this broad street also provided views to the meadows to the west, woods to
the east, and the Connecticut River north and south. The north view from the street not only
looked toward the Connecticut, but also provided a glimpse of that western portion of the
settlement that would soon become Hatfield. The southern view looked back toward the
mountain from which one might view the broad street.

\textit{Small-Scale Features}

In 1661, it was voted that the town would supply post and rail fences and gates for the North and
South ends of the broad street, as well as the end of the middle highway to the woods. There
were also fences along the east edge of the Great Meadow and surrounding the home lots.
According to historian Sylvester Judd, these fences "were chiefly of two sorts. The first, an
fence was made of five rails with posts, about four feet high. The second, a ditch was dug,
(perhaps three feet wide and more than two feet deep), and the earth was thrown upon one bank,
and a line of posts with two or three rails was set upon this bank."\textsuperscript{133} Ponds were located on the
broad street, one just north of the eight-foot mound upon which the first meetinghouse stood,
another west of that, also in the street.

\textbf{Summary}

The year 1659 saw the establishment of the town, and the beginnings of a transformation of the
landscape. The primary characteristic elements of the landscape were established between the
years of 1659 and 1713; the broad street, the highways extending east and west, and the rows of
homes along each side of the street. The system of common lands established by the settlers
during this period would influence the subsequent development of the town. Although no
buildings or structures built during this period survive, the overall structure of the landscape—
the broad common, basic dimensions of the "homelots," and the property divisions of the Great
Meadow— was established by 1713.

\textbf{1713-1790: Divisions and Expansion}

\textbf{Historical overview}

With the end of Queen Anne’s War in 1713, the settlers at Hadley moved forward with plans to
expand the town. Portions of the palisades were removed, while others were left to slowly
molder away. Residences on the home lots along the Back Street were built at this time. By
1720 fifteen families lived along the new street, now known as Middle Street.\textsuperscript{134} While wars
with the French and Indians continued in other areas of the Massachusetts colony after 1713,
Hadley was considerably less affected. The spread of the town to Middle Street also inspired
settlement in other areas. In 1718, the town of Sunderland was incorporated, followed by the
settlement and subsequent incorporation of the towns of South Hadley and Amherst, in 1753 and
1759 respectively.
By 1713, the old meetinghouse had outlived its usefulness and the town voted to construct a new meetinghouse “to be built in the middle of the street, against (across from) the town lot.” This structure was completed near the end of the following year, and served the town of Hadley until 1808. By 1788, the first town schoolhouse also needed a replacement, which was in use by 1789.

Among its many other purposes, the Common also served military functions, and was used as the town’s training and parade ground. Most famous among the Common’s military connections was the quartering of General Burgoyne and his troops while they were being escorted to Boston, following their defeat at Saratoga in 1777. The Hadley Common was also one site visited by a mob of protestors during Shay’s Rebellion in 1787, on their march from Northampton to Amherst. Troops arrived soon after to calm this rebellion.

During the Revolutionary War, a powder house was constructed west of the Common, in the “middle land leading into the Great Meadow.” This powder house was “round in compass equal to eight feet square.”

Clearly, the common served a number of utilitarian purposes throughout the first century of European settlement, but as early as the era of the American Revolution, attitudes toward spaces like the town road or common were changing, as these sites were already becoming valued as much or more for their aesthetic qualities than their practical ones. As early as the end of the colonial era, New Englanders were beginning to appreciate the scenic quality of the landscape as a good in and of itself. Soon, residents would begin to make choices that specifically protected that quality, and even enhanced it.

Landscape Features and Characteristics, 1713 – 1790

Natural Systems and Features

The Connecticut River continued to be an important influence on the physical evolution of the Common. The first action against the wearing of the river on the north end was commenced in 1730, when the town voted, “to do something to prevent the bank from wearing.” Every man in the town was assigned to work one day on the reinforcement of the bank. By 1737, the river had worn away some portions of the north highway to the woods entirely, so the town applied to the county court to have a new North Lane set out. The north highway to the meadows had also been completely eroded by the Connecticut River by this time.

Topography

The broad street of Hadley at this time was described still as having “many knolls, ridges and hollows, and some ponds and puddles,” much as it was when established in 1659. These ponds were located both north of the meetinghouse and also on the west side of the street, and perhaps elsewhere.

Spatial Organization
The broad street, framed in by the rows of homes along both sides of the Common, remained the heart of Hadley. A few trees had also been planted along the street, further defining the space, creating a contrast between the open common area and the enclosed private homelots. While the stretch of meadow lands west of the homelots on the front street remained, the woods on the east side had receded to make room for the new street and the homelots along the west side of the back street (Figure 16). The Connecticut continued to form the northern boundary of the Common, although deposits in Aquavitae had begun to move the river south of the original street.

**Land Use**

The broad street, though surrounded by the private homelots, remained a common space used for gathering, pasturing livestock, and for circulation. Geese were likely not raised in Hadley until after 1713, but after this time "most families had a flock of geese, and they abounded in the broad street and in other streets; their clanking noise was almost incessant by day, and was often heard at night. They fed on the grass in the public ways and frequented the puddles and ponds that were formerly in the streets, and fouled the streets exceedingly." Sheep in Hadley were allowed to "run in the streets" until 1790, along with the geese.

The Great Meadow continued in agricultural use, with both plowing and mowing lands. By this time wheat production had slowed, and those farming their parcels in the meadows were planting other crops, such as Indian corn and rye.

**Circulation**

By the mid to late 1730s, the broad street still remained the major artery of the town, although the back street had been established and inhabited by this time (Figure 17). The original length of the street had already decreased slightly due to erosion. Until 1773, the road retained its original width, when it was decreased to eighteen rods. The two rods taken from the width of the street were given to those homelots located along the western side of the broad street. Two highways, the middle and the south, extended from the front street to the meadow lands, the north highway having been worn away by the river. Three highways also extended from the
street to the east, the south, middle, and north. The north lane however, was newly established, due to the erosion of the first north highway on this side of the broad street. The north road, known today as North Lane, was constructed twenty-five rods (412.5 feet) south of the river bank as it existed at that time, beginning in front of the original Thomas Coleman lot, extending east to the middle of the lot, then turning north to meet the “old country road” (Route 47 today). The portion extending directly east was two rods (thirty-three feet) in width, but as the road turned northerly, it was increased to twenty rods. 147

Ferries continued to facilitate transportation between Hadley and the surrounding villages, both on the north and south ends of the broad street (Figure 18). The south ferry was operated by the Kellogg family (who had originally started the ferry at that end of the street), until 1758, when it was turned over to Stephan Goodman, by whose name the southern ferry would be known from that time forward.

![Figure 17: Hadley in 1795. Dotted lines indicate many of the highways and important arteries of the town. (Source: Forbes Library, Northampton, Mass.)](image)

![Figure 18: The Hadley ferry. (Source: Hadley Historical Society.)](image)

The river continued its role as the primary mode of transport between Hadley, neighboring villages, and the towns further south along the Connecticut.

**Buildings and Structures**

Houses constructed during the first years of the town’s settlement had begun to be replaced by new homes. The Samuel Porter house was one of these, constructed in 1713, and exists as the oldest building on the Common today (Figure 19).

Construction of the second meetinghouse was begun in 1713, and completed by the end of the next year. It was to be located in the common street across from the town lot, and to be fifty feet long and forty feet wide, “with a flattish roof...and should be plastered with white lime.” The 1753 steeple survives as part of the third meetinghouse, erected on the Common in 1808 and
moved to its present location on Middle Street in 1841. At some point in the eighteenth century, along the street walks on either side appeared lines of rails to which worshippers could hitch teams. 148

The first schoolhouse built by the town served until 1788, when it was voted, "to build a schoolhouse 38 feet long, 19 feet wide and 10 feet in height; to build a chimney at each end; to build it as near the present school-house as conveniently may be." 149 This new structure was completed by the beginning of the next year, and like the former schoolhouse, was located immediately south of the meetinghouse.

In 1774, the town voted to construct a powder-house, built for the use of the town. It was to be made of brick, "plastered within and without, round in compass, equal to eight feet square;" and was erected in "the middle lane leading into the Great Meadow." 150

Fences and gates for homelots and the common street and its highways were still important elements. By the eighteenth century, the fences were of two main types: either made of five rails with posts about four feet high, or of posts with rails set into earthen banks, altogether some six feet high. 151

Vegetation

Some elms were planted along the street in the eighteenth century. A c. 1736-1739 map of the street shows small dots in front of many of the homelots along the broad street, believed to be trees, likely elms and other shade trees (Figure 20). Sylvester Judd recalled that there were some large elms and yellow willows, and a few smaller butternuts and button woods planted in the town. 152 This was the beginning of the tree-lined broad street of Hadley.

Views and Vistas

The view of the town and its broad street from Mount Holyoke continued to be significant. It was mentioned in 1760 that the view from the mountains toward the towns of
Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield gave much delight, and the view of the intervale meadows from this vantage point “looked like a beautiful garden.”

As trees were planted, they began acting as framing elements for the various views from the common street to the meadow plain to the west, the Connecticut River and Hatfield to the north, and to the south, the mountains in the distance, the serpentine sheet of the river, framed by the vegetation along the street.

Summary

A period of expansion for Hadley, as well as one of divisions, the years between 1713 and 1790 saw the spread of the town beyond the Hadley Common and West Street. The first step in this movement was the inhabitation of the back street in 1713, leading to the creation of other neighborhoods in Hadley, as well as other towns.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the way that the Common was viewed and used began to change from primarily a utilitarian space to one more appreciated as an ornamental landscape. The planting of trees was one element of this transformation during this period.

1790-1841: A Shifting Town Center

Historical Overview

While the Common was originally designed as a utilitarian landscape, providing a gathering space, training ground and pasture for livestock, it increasingly became recognized for its aesthetic qualities as well. One example of this was a statement recorded from a Wethersfield resident to John Adams during his tour of Connecticut in 1771. He was told that there was no other broad street in America as attractive as that at Wethersfield, with the exception of the one at Hadley. This exchange shows that this changing perception of the Common began as early as the time of the American Revolution.

There were other indicators that the Common was slowly evolving into an ornamental rather than utilitarian space. The planting of Lombardy poplars along the Common, as recorded by Sylvester Judd, was another of these. Lombardy poplars were first introduced to the United States in 1780, and afterward spread to many places in the United States. They began to be planted in New England by 1802. However the trees did not last long on the Hadley Common, as they had a short lifespan, lasting only 10-15 years before beginning to decline due to disease, decay and insects. The poplars were removed and replaced with species such as sycamore, elm and maple.

The removal of livestock from the Common also demonstrated the shifting use and perception of the Common. Sheep were banned from grazing on the Common in the 1790s, followed by the banning of all cattle by 1801. Geese were totally eliminated from the Common by approximately 1828, much of this due to the efforts of the Hopkins Academy students.
The removal of the third meetinghouse and the “feud of the streets” was critical to the evolution of the Common from a practical, utilitarian space to one largely ornamental. This change also affected the role of the Common, transforming it from the physical heart of the town to a symbolic center.

The “feud of the streets” developed as a result of the shifting population in Hadley. As the Middle Street (or Back Street, as it was known) was settled, the growing population of artisans and tradespeople there began to feel that their street should take precedence over the old families on the Common. This argument intensified over the discussion of where to locate the new meetinghouse to replace the 1753 meetinghouse. The Middle Street residents felt the new church should be located on Middle Street at the center of the growing population. The residents along the Common wanted the new structure to be located in the same position occupied by the previous meetinghouse, on the Common. In 1807, the decision was made to locate the new meetinghouse on the Common.158

This decision did not entirely settle the dispute, as it once again became an issue in 1836. In December 1841, the meetinghouse was to be moved to a new agreed location, midway between the Common and Middle Street. After the church reached its designated location, the movers decided to continue on, taking the meetinghouse all the way to Middle Street.159 This caused an uproar among the residents along the Common who created their own religious society in response. The Russell Church Society constructed their own meetinghouse adjacent to the east side of the Common, north of Russell Street (Figure 21). Unfortunately the population along the Common was not large enough to support their own church, and the building changed hands several times. Eventually in 1915 it was purchased by the Polish community who needed their own church. The structure was moved to the southeast corner of Whalley and Russell Streets, where it stood until 1983, when it was torn down to make room for the current Most Holy Redeemer Church.160

The removal of the Congregational Church was critical event. At the end of the Revolutionary War, the town of Hadley had still been centered around the Common, with the “Back Street” (Middle Street) also developed. By 1830, the town had expanded enough to necessitate the creation of a third street, East Street, parallel with West and Middle streets.161 The development
of these other streets meant that the use and meaning of the Common—once the only significant street, but now one of several—also changed. A description of the Common in 1839 reflected the current status of the historic common, but also the emerging view of the aesthetic common: “It [the village of Hadley] lies mostly on one street, a mile in length, running directly north and south; is sixteen rods in breadth; is nearly a perfect level; is covered, during the summer, with a rich verdure; abuts at both ends on the river; and yields everywhere a delightful prospect.”

**Landscape Features and Characteristics, 1790 – 1841**

**Natural Systems and Features**

The Connecticut continued to move away from the south end of the broad street, due to sediment deposits, while at the same time cutting earth from the north side of the peninsula.

**Topography**

By the early nineteenth century, much of the Common had been leveled. By the middle of the nineteenth century, any remaining ridges, knolls and hills had been leveled out, including the eight foot rise on which the meetinghouse stood. The gulley or ravine on the south end had also been filled in with earth by this time. At the turn of the nineteenth century, the common was becoming the even lawn that we recognize today.

**Spatial Organization**

Despite the eastward shift in the population of Hadley, the majority of the village was still centered around the Common and back street (Figure 22). By 1791, the width of the Common had diminished, due to the selling of portions of common land to the homelots along street, and measured sixteen rods (264 feet) on the north end, and approximately seventeen rods on the south end (280½ feet). The planting of ornamental trees, mainly elms and maples, during this time along the front street further reinforced the central space of the Common created by the arrangement of homes along the length of the street.

Figure 22: Hadley in 1830. (Source: Special Collections, W.E.B Du Bois Library, University of Massachusetts.)
In 1782, six or seven rods were added to the ten and one-half rod width of the original town cemetery along the middle highway to the meadows (now Cemetery Road). Then in 1828, the cemetery was expanded eastward another sixteen or seventeen rods, making the total area of the burial ground more than four acres.166

Land Use

The use of the common during this period became increasingly oriented to its ornamental, not agricultural, potential. In the 1790s, sheep were banned from the common, followed by cattle in 1800. By 1820 the goose population on the common had been eliminated.

Despite the changing use of the Common, the adjacent meadow lands retained their agricultural functions. Hadley at this time was described as “a fine agricultural town, and the meadows on the banks of the Connecticut River are some of the best in New England.”167 Crops planted in this period include buckwheat, which was planted more extensively in the nineteenth century than the eighteenth.168 Few people in Hadley cultivated tobacco before 1800.169

Broom corn was introduced by Levi Dickenson to Hadley in 1797, and the growing of the crop and making of brooms had spread to other areas of Hadley by 1801, with the first planting in the meadow of broom corn occurring in 1800.170 For many years, the planting of broomcorn and broom manufacturing was the most important industry in Hadley

Circulation

While Cook’s Ferry at the north end of West Street still existed at this time, providing transportation to and from Hatfield and towns north, it appears that the southern ferry (Goodman’s Ferry), had become obsolete by 1830. There also existed a ferry on the western point of the peninsula, Clark’s Ferry, which also linked Hadley, its agricultural fields, and Northampton. Beginning in 1831, steamboats facilitated river traffic between Hadley and other towns along the Connecticut River.171

The original street configuration in the center of Hadley by 1840 remained essentially the same as it had been originally laid out, with the three highways to the east, North Road, Russell Street (the middle highway), and the South Road, the two highways to the meadows, and West Street running north-south across the neck of the Hadley peninsula.172 In 1791, the selectmen determined to run lines between significant places along the main street, forming a network of paths crossing West Street which still existed in the 1950s (Figure 23).173

The stage road was established by this time, connecting Hadley to Boston (Figure 24). It cut

![Figure 23: Crossing the Common. (Source: Hadley Historical Society.)(38)]
through the south end of West Street to Clark's Ferry on the west, following the Bay Path Road as it led way from the center of Hadley to the east. The existence of Clark's Ferry and the stage road are the origins of the east-west travel pattern that prevails in Hadley today.\textsuperscript{174}

By 1803, the construction of the first bridge to Northampton had begun, which would further stimulate the development of this new east-west circulation pattern through the town of Hadley. Completed in 1808, the covered wooden structure was privately owned, and tolls were charged for crossing the bridge. The bridge was destroyed in a spring freshet in 1824, and was soon replaced by a similar covered wooden structure. However, Russell Street, which evolved from the middle highway to the east, did not link the Northampton bridge and the center of Hadley; instead, the bridge connected travelers to the stage road and the two meadow highways.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure24.png}
\caption{The Hadley stagecoach. (Source: Hadley Historical Society.)}
\end{figure}

\textbf{Buildings and Structures}

The third meetinghouse was constructed in 1808, on the same spot that had been occupied by the prior meetinghouse. Both the meetinghouse and the schoolhouse were located on the Common, as they had in previous years. The schoolhouse was located south of the meetinghouse in the common street. The 1808 meetinghouse was removed to Middle Street in 1841, where it stands to this day.

Many of the early homes along the broad street were gradually replaced during this period. Twenty-four of the homes constructed during the years 1790-1841 may yet be seen along the Common today.\textsuperscript{175}

\textbf{Vegetation}

By the end of the eighteenth century, double rows of elms were already growing “straight and tall” along the Common.\textsuperscript{176} Beginning in about 1800, Lombardy poplars were planted along the Common as well as elsewhere in Hadley, however, the trees were soon removed.\textsuperscript{177} After 1810, sugar maples and red maples were planted. By the mid nineteenth century, the shade trees were principally elms, as well as some ash trees, button woods, and evergreens.\textsuperscript{178} As historian Frank White notes, “It was during the 1830's that a change was taking place in America. Many cities
were developing a sense of refinement and were planting more trees, especially on the commons."179

Views and Vistas

The first structure on the summit of Mt. Holyoke was erected in 1821 to accommodate sightseers, although many had visited the site prior to this date.180 This structure, and the one that would follow, would become important for viewing Hadley and the Common from Mount Holyoke. This summit house also became an important part of the view from the Common to the mountain (Figure 25). The developing rows of trees framed and focused the view down the length of the Common toward Holyoke and the small structure seated on top. Views from the Common to the river and the adjacent meadow lands were also an important part of the experience of the Common.

Summary

During the period between the years 1790 and 1840, the Common shifted from its earlier incarnation as a purely utilitarian space to a more ornamental one. As inhabitants began to enhance the qualities of the Common already in existence, they began to appreciate the space in a new manner. As the space transformed, it also lost some of its political significance. By the end of this period, town meetings had moved to the town hall on Middle Street and the First Church was relocated. Events that brought townspeople together increasingly occurred on Middle Street, while West Street remained a primarily residential space.

1841-1904: Modernization

Historical overview

The second half of the nineteenth century was an era of great change for the Hadley Common. The entire region saw significant changes in technology and populations that transformed community life. There were also continuities in life along the Common. Working farms
continued to line the Common, with cow barns, chicken houses, and other agricultural buildings that defined the space. But the role the neighborhood played among the other Hadley neighborhoods was changing. In 1840, the “feud of the streets” culminated in the removal of the town meetinghouse from its place on the Common to a new site on Middle Street. This move effectively shifted the social and political center of Hadley, although the residents along the Common would fight this change for several more years. The bitterness between the groups involved in this feud, however, would continue for some time.

Modern tobacco cultivation was brought to the town also in 1840, an introduction that profoundly changed Hadley agriculture and society. Many of the residents along the Common constructed tobacco barns behind their homes to accommodate the new crop. Of these structures, several are still in existence today. Tobacco cultivation brought Irish and French Canadian immigrants to the valley to work on farms and in fields. A second wave of immigrants, mainly Poles and Slavs, began arriving in Hadley in 1885 and continued into the 1920s. Many of these families remained in Hadley.

Revolutions in technologies of transportation and communication affected Hadley and the rest of the nation. In general, traffic ceased to be oriented toward the river, and shifted instead to the railroads, which proliferated in the Connecticut River Valley beginning in 1845 with the construction of the Boston and Maine Railroad extending

Figure 26: A view of the developing Connecticut River Valley, 1878. (Source: Nathaniel B. Sylvester, History of the Connecticut Valley, with illustrations and biographical sketches of some of its prominent men and pioneers, volume 1.)

Figure 27: Proposed river defenses, 1846. (Source: Hadley Historical Society.)
from Springfield to Northampton (Figure 26). New means by which to move goods and people meant that the river was decreasingly seen as a trade route and increasingly a barrier to be overcome. By 1855, the ferries at the north and south ends of the Common were no longer in use and the traffic that had supported them now used the covered toll bridge from Northampton to Hadley. Ferries still functioned in the villages of North Hadley and Hockanum. At the same time, residents became increasingly interested in controlling the damage caused by floods and erosion. As early as the 1840s efforts were made to control flooding and Hadley petitioned the state legislature for funds (Figure 27). In the 1880s both the town and the state appropriated funds to protect the river bank north of the Common from erosion. The town first voted to form a River Bank Committee in 1883. Beginning in 1888, the bank was graded and completely covered both above and below the water line with mats of willow brush over which was placed rubblestone and riprap (Figure 28). Additional work in 1889, 1900 and 1901 extended the protection over a mile.

In 1887, the Massachusetts Central Railroad was completed, linking Hadley to Boston, Northampton and beyond. The bed of the railroad as completed crossed through the Common itself, north of Russell Street (Figure 29). Transportation between Northampton and Amherst was further facilitated with the completion of the electric trolley line in

Figure 28: Reinforcement of river bank with riprap, 1888. (Source: Hadley Historical Society.)

Figure 29: Train crossing the Common. (Source: Hadley Historical Society.)
1899, and the state road (Route 9) in 1904, the first macadamized road in Hadley. The completion of the paved Route 9 marked a turning point in the history of the Hadley Common, and marks the end of the period of significance of this cultural landscape.  

The Common became increasingly used for commemorative functions and other civic gatherings during this period. It hosted many of the events for the 200-year anniversary of the town’s settlement in 1859. The Common was selected as the site for many of these events as it could hold large numbers of people, as well as the fact that it was the site of the original settlement.

In 1894, the Annual Meeting of the Third Army Corps held a large gathering on Hadley’s Common to commemorate Civil War hero General John Hooker. Hooker was born in a home along the Common in 1814 (unfortunately the home was destroyed by fire in 1898).

The use of the Common for ceremonial functions also led to an increase in the interest in its aesthetic qualities. These qualities were noted by an observer in 1879 who stated that the situation at Hadley “has not a peer in all New England.” Including the beautiful broad common, the elms lining its length and the adjacent meadows in his description. Also mentioned was the scenic view south toward Mount Holyoke from the Common.

Construction of telephone wires was begun in Hadley in the 1890s, with the first franchise for telephone poles and wires granted in 1891, although telephones in many homes did not exist until 1905. As the poles and wires required to provide this service to Hadley residents were erected on the Common, the space began to lose a part of the “charming vista” for which the street had been so well known (Figure 30).

As the innovations of modern technology intruded on the space, the people of Hadley became more interested in the aesthetic qualities of the landscape. In July 1872, one observer noted that the common was “almost perfectly level, is sixteen rods in breadth, with a wide strip of verdure in the middle, and on each side of that a spacious carriage road and footpaths. It is shaded by magnificent trees its entire length, and from every point affords beautiful views of the surrounding country.” The observer continued on to say that it is “the most beautiful natural avenue in New England,” overlooking the cumulative decision-making processes that had brought that “natural,” scenic landscape into being.
By the mid-1800s the river had worn away approximately thirty rods (495 feet), from the west side of the Common in the north, and had deposited enough earth on the south side to extend the meadow there by about fifty rods (825 feet). This erosion of the north end of the west side had completely destroyed the north highway to the meadows, and had worn away half of the lot directly south of the highway. The east side of the Common had lost between forty to forty-five rods in overall length, the river having worn away the western portion of the south highway to the woods, and the homelot to the south of the highway. The western portion of the northernmost of the original eight acre lots on the east side of the street had also been worn away.\textsuperscript{193}

The Great Meadows had also been affected by the erosive force of the river, and by 1879 more than the width of the river had been worn away from the upper side of the peninsula.\textsuperscript{194}

\textit{Topography}

During this time, the Common was transformed into the level expanse of grass that can be seen in Hadley today. By the 1870s, the hills and gulleys that once ran through the Common had been eliminated by various “improvements” to the Common. A description of the Common in the late 1800s states that, “the spacious street of Hadley is one of the most pleasant and handsome country streets in New England. Most of the natural irregularities of the surface have been removed, and no permanent obstructions or deformities have been added.”\textsuperscript{195}

As a result of the leveling of the Common, the residents of Hadley center began to experience problems with stagnant water along the Common, and in 1891, 1897, and 1906, petitions were filed for the establishment of drains for surface water.\textsuperscript{196}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure31.png}
\caption{The Hadley Common, 1851. (Source: Hadley Historical Society.)}
\end{figure}
Between 1888 and 1901 an embankment was constructed on the north bank of the Hadley peninsula to protect the town from the wearing action of the river, preventing the peninsula from being cut off from the remainder of the town, and from flooding.

**Spatial Organization**

In 1850 the width of the common was again decreased, changing the overall width from the original 330 feet to 270 feet, as it exists today (Figure 31). The land taken from the width of the street was given to residents living along West Street. Homes along the street however, maintained their original setbacks, continuing the enclosure and creation of the common space, along with the rows of elms that had existed from the beginning.

**Land Use**

It was suggested in 1879 that the town of Hadley, “probably contains a larger area of good, workable land than any other town in the Connecticut Valley.” Much of the meadow land continued in its original agricultural uses. As of 1850, the land in the Aquavitae meadow was still maintained in grass for hay, an important crop for Hadley farmers. Broomcorn continued to be planted in Hadley until 1875, when profitability of the crop decreased significantly. Tobacco was an important crop in the Connecticut River Valley from about 1840 to 1950, when the development of the “homogenized sheet wrapper” began a decline in the viability of tobacco as a cash crop. However, the extent to which the crop was grown in the Great Meadow is unknown.

**Circulation**

By 1855, the ferries at the north and south ends of the Common were replaced by the covered toll bridge from Northampton to Hadley. This covered wooden toll bridge was made a free public bridge in 1875, but did not remain as such for long, as it was destroyed in 1876. A new iron bridge was built in 1877. The construction of the railroad and electric trolley also necessitated additional river crossings. The railroad bridge was completed in

![Electric trolley bridge over the Connecticut River, 1905.](source: Daniel Lombardo, Images of America: Amherst and Hadley, Massachusetts.)

45
1887, followed by the electric trolley bridge over the Connecticut River in 1900 (Figure 32). The construction of the macadamized state road (later Route 9) was begun in 1894 and was completed in 1904, linking Northampton, Hadley, and Amherst (Figure 33). This would be the final element in a system of east-west transportation begun in Hadley with the stage road and Cook’s ferry. Instead of traveling the length of the Common, known as West Street by 1855, to experience the town, most visitors only crossed it in a perpendicular direction.

By 1909, the current system of two roadways on running the length of the Common, one on the east side of the street, and one on the west, was already in place. In fact, the electric trolley (Figure 34) made stops on both sides of the street, and it was observed, “to alight on the wrong side of this street is quite a serious matter in the entailment of extra steps.”

Buildings and Structures

In 1842, the residents along the Common, protesting the removal of the meetinghouse to Middle Street, formed their own society, the Russell Congregational Society, and constructed a church on the east side of the street, just north of Russell Street, for their services (Figure 35). The structure was used as a meetinghouse until 1890, when there was not enough support from the old families of West Street to maintain the church. For a time afterwards, the basement of the structure was used to store grain. Eventually it was removed, and relocated to the southeast corner of Whalley and Russell.
By 1840, more than two-thirds of the homes currently existing along the Common today had been constructed, but fifteen years later, only three of these lots along the Common (all on the east side), were inhabited by descendants of the original owners of the lots as they were assigned in 1659. Many of the homes along West Street had tobacco and onion barns located behind – evidence of Hadley’s shift in agriculture. Several of these structures still exist today.

The Porter store, a shop building which stood on the common at 24 West Street, was built in the 1840s, during the tenure of James B. Porter, who ran the store from 1825 to 1863. After 1863, William Porter took over the store, which he ran until 1880, when he moved to Springfield, and the structure was removed.

The Elmwood hotel was located at the northeast corner of Russell and West Streets, occupying the lot formerly belonging to John Russell. The fire department was located immediately north of the hotel for a time, at one point inhabiting the vacant church building.

Following the completion of the railroad, the station house was located in an old home on West Street, because the two factions in the town, which had fought so bitterly about the location of the meetinghouse, could not come to an agreement as to the placement of the train station. Eventually the permanent railroad station was located between West and Middle Streets, near Goffe Street, next to the railroad tracks before they crossed the Common.

Vegetation

In 1881, the town passed its first law prohibiting people from cutting down or harming “any shade, ornamental or useful tree” without consent of the selectmen. While not specific to the Common, such legislation allowed the community to protect its valuable natural and aesthetic

Figure 35: Russell Congregational Society church, located north of Russell Street adjoining the Common. (Source: Hadley Historical Society.)

Figure 36: Double row of elms and maples along the Common, 1895. (Source: Hadley: the Regicides, Indian and General History. A Souvenir in Honor of Major-General Joseph Hooker, and in anticipation of the memorial exercises at his birthplace Tuesday, May 7, 1895.)
resources. The majority of the trees along the Common at this time were elms and maples, arranged in a double row along both sides of the Common (Figure 36). \(^{211}\)

**Views and Vistas**

In 1851, a “convenient house” replaced the original structure on the summit of Mt. Holyoke. \(^{212}\)

This was a two-story structure, called the Prospect House. The building was expanded in 1861, and again in 1894. The tramway to the house, constructed in 1854 was first powered by horses. By 1856, a steam engine had taken the place of the horses, and in 1867, the track was covered. This facilitated traffic to the top of Mount Holyoke, where tourists would stay, and enjoy the view of the Connecticut and the valley (Figure 37). The new Prospect House terminated the view of Mount Holyoke from the Common, becoming an important element of that view as well. \(^{213}\)

As telephone service was increased to the town of Hadley, the wires and posts began intruding on the historic views to Mount Holyoke, Hatfield to the north, and the meadow lands to the west (Figure 38).

**Summary**

During this time, Hadley and the Common experienced many changes as a result of the modernization of the Connecticut River Valley. A population shift also occurred, with the arrival of Irish and French Canadian immigrants in the town, a group which would be shortly followed by a second wave of Polish and the Slavic immigrants. The east-west transportation in and through Hadley...
made up of the railroad, the electric trolley, and the paved state road, was completed in 1904 and forever changed the physical and visual impact of the Hadley Common.

**1904-1954: Commemoration and Removal**

**Historical Overview**

By the start of the twentieth century, the common had become the community lawn that we recognize today. The appendix to the 1905 edition of Judd’s *The History of Hadley* observes that “the older people tell how the broad street, the pride of all the citizens, was broken with hillocks and with shallow ponds where great flocks of geese paddled in the more...” Manure heaps were in full view, and farm wagons and litter scattered around the houses. By 1905, however, the people of the town made “an effort to have an attractive yard.” It was observed that “most of the fences that used to tightly hem in the home premises have gone; lawns are kept mowed and there is constant care to have all the surroundings of the house neat and presentable.”

The Common remained an important space for civic gatherings and commemoration of historic events and persons. Among these events was the 1909 Old Hadley Quarter Celebration, several functions of which were held on the Common, including a parade along its length (Figure 39). It was during this celebration what the stone marker indicating the location of the first meetinghouse was placed on the Common by members of the Old Hadley Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (Figure 40). It is also likely that the marker which commemorates the hiding place of the regicides Whalley and Goffe was erected around this same time. Lieutenant General Edward Whalley and Major General William Goffe were two of the judges who were responsible for condemning Charles I of England to death in 1649. However, when Charles II claimed the throne, they were declared criminals and were forced into hiding, eventually for a time in Hadley. The marker was placed at the northeast corner of the Common and Russell Street, at the site of the home lot of Reverend John Russell, Jr., who concealed the fugitives while they resided in Hadley.

Another commemorative marker had been erected the year previous - a large boulder which marked the birthplace of General Joseph Hooker. The home in which he was born however, burned down in 1898.
This spirit of commemoration continued with a proposal in 1914 to rename several streets within the town center after important figures in Hadley’s history. This resulted in the names of the current Whalley, Goffe, and Russell Streets, as well as Huntington Road. 219

In 1935, memorialization of Hadley’s history also extended to efforts to preserve one of the Common’s historic elms. Known as the “Monarch Elm,” the tree was believed to be 200 years old, and at 115 feet high was thought to be the tallest elm in New England at that time (Figure 41). It was hoped that the restoration work, financed by the Emergency Relief Administration and under the direction of the town’s tree warden, would extend the life of the tree for at least another 50 years, and that “this magnificent tree that is the pride of Hadley would soon emerge in much of its pristine glory.” 220

While the memorialization of historical Hadley was an important element in this period of the town’s development, this did not deter the inhabitants from moving forward with efforts to modernize their surroundings. This included the installation of sidewalks and street lights within the town between 1910 and 1920. 221 While these modern conveniences brought many benefits to the town, they were often detrimental to the aesthetic quality of the Common.

This was also a period which saw some of the most severe storms and resulting flooding that has been recorded in the history of the town. The first of these occurred in 1913, and left the “meadow below cross path deeply covered. A large section of the bank was deeply ravined. The damage was sufficient that later that year the state rip-rapped the bank there with stone.” 222 An additional section of the riverbank was reinforced in 1926. 223

It was a year later, in 1927, that the next flood occurred. Water from this flood covered not only the Great Meadow, but the Common as well, resulting in damage to homes and causing agricultural losses within the Meadow. The railroad was also damaged.
by flooding, with the tracks washed out in two locations along its course through Hadley. Damage to the town and the Common would have been more severe if not for the work completed on the riverbank the previous year. After the flood, in 1928, a weak dike was installed, but it was never completed.

The 1936 flood was one of the worst in Hadley's history, flooding most of old Hadley with “25,000,000 tons of soil in solution enough to cover the thirty-eight square miles of flooded area in the valley” to a depth of an inch, and depositing debris across the flooded area (Figure 42). Footpaths and roads were washed out during the flood, and “the many unturfed neighboring cross roads from west to east of West Street Common were washed down eight or nine feet.” It took several months and over 150 volunteers to clear the mud and debris from the town. Much soil was washed from the Meadow during the flooding, and “some areas were so heavily scarred that they lost soil to the depth of twelve feet.” Following the 1936 flood the earthen dike at the northern end of the Hadley peninsula was reinforced and extended into the Great Meadow to prevent erosion and protect the town from subsequent storms.

Two years later the town was struck by a hurricane, which destroyed buildings and felled trees, and resulted in severe flooding. Most of the structures destroyed by the high winds were sheds and tobacco barns, the majority of which were never rebuilt. The storm also had a large impact on the Common, with winds felling forty-two trees on the east side of the Common, and three large elms on the west side. These were largely replaced by maple, oak, beech and linden. Many of the elms for which Hadley had been known came down in these storms.
Once the Common recovered from the damage caused by storms and flooding it resumed its function as a community lawn and gathering space. The American Legion held parties on the north end of the Common from 1946 to 1952. The Common was considered ideal for these functions, "because there is ample parking on the Common." 

Landscape Features and Characteristics, 1904 – 1954

Natural Systems and Features

By 1905, the western portion of the new North Lane, laid out in 1737, was only three to four rods from the river bank, compared to the twenty-five rods that existed between the river and new road when it was first constructed. At the opposite end of the broad street, the river was forty-five to fifty rods south of where the original south ferry landing was. By this time, the river had also worn away significant amounts of earth from the north and west sides of the Great Meadow.

Topography

While the level ground of the Common remained constant, after 1936, extension and reinforcement of the dike extending along the north shore of the peninsula created a mound which continued into the meadows, completely changing the relationship of the meadows to the river. Prior to the creation of the dike, the banks of the river were easily accessible from the Common, which facilitated ferry traffic.

Land Use

Tobacco and onions continued to be important crops in Hadley, both of which had been planted in Hadley since the 1840s (Figure 44). Due to soil changes caused by flooding in the Great Meadow, farmers increasingly planted asparagus and potatoes. Hay was also an important crop.

Circulation

With the majority of traffic now flowing east-west across the Common, the roads

Figure 44: Onion harvesting in the Great Meadow, 1916. (Source: Hadley Historical Society.)
and iron bridge began to see extensive use. An increase in the use of automobiles decreased the
use of the electric trolley, leading to its eventual demise, although it continued to function into
the 1930s. The increase in automobile use also put greater pressures on the iron bridge, which
had initially been constructed for the use of horse-drawn vehicles. This necessitated the
construction of a new bridge that would be able to handle automotive traffic. The completion of
the Calvin Coolidge Memorial Bridge in 1936 served to further facilitate traffic between Hadley,
Northampton, and beyond.

Closer to West Street, in 1933, cement sidewalks were
completed from West Street to Russell Street, making
travel for pedestrians safer along these increasingly busy
roads.\(^{237}\)

Vegetation

“The chief glory of the town is its trees.” This statement
referred particularly to the elms, especially those along
the Common.\(^{238}\) In 1909, a double row of maples and
elms existed along West Street (Figure 45).
Unfortunately, by 1933 Dutch Elm Disease was already a
problem being addressed by the town of Hadley. This
disease would have serious consequences for the elms in
Hadley, not only those along West Street. In 1956,
money was still allocated in the town budget to deal with
the problem of Dutch Elm Disease, which killed many of
those trees that survived the 1938 hurricane.\(^{239}\)

Small-Scale Features

Many monuments and other markers were placed on the
common during this period. The first of these was a
granite tablet set in a large bolder commemorating the
birthplace of Joseph Hooker (Figure 46), located within
the row of elms in front of the site of Hooker’s childhood
home. Another monument was located in the center of
the Common, toward the north end, which marked the
location of Hadley’s first meetinghouse. The marker was
placed during the quarter millennial festivities in 1909,
along with another marker indicating the home of John
Russell, protector of the regicides Whalley and Goffe.

Summary

The lands of the Common and the Great Meadow
continued in their traditional patterns of residential and
agricultural use, while taking on an additional function –
the preservation of the history of the town. This memorial use of West Street continues to the present day. The Common and Great Meadow were shaped by flooding and by subsequent efforts to prevent future damage. The extension of the dike after the 1936 flood visually and physically divided the expanse of the Great Meadow, while protecting the eastern portion of the Meadow and the Common from future floods.

Figure 46: Monument commemorating the birthplace of Joseph Hooker.

1954-2003: Present

Historical Overview

From the 1950s on, the Common underwent a few physical changes, but largely there was a change in the perception in the value of the Common. No longer just appreciated for its ornamental qualities, the Common became valued for its historical significance, making it a target of preservation efforts. The Common and Great Meadow landscape also faced new challenges and threats from development pressures.

The 1950s saw the last major physical changes to the Common, creating the landscape seen today. At least two of the historic eighteenth century homes were removed from along the Common and relocated elsewhere. The Cooke home, a traditional two-storey saltbox constructed around 1700, was removed from the southwest corner of the Common and Cemetery Road. The house was sold to George and Irene Steiner of Greenwich, Connecticut. The Steiners had the Cooke house moved to Connecticut after the purchase.
Hadley’s Lion’s Club first formed in the 1950s. One of their earliest projects was the installation of the Lion’s Park on the Common, just north of Russell Street (Figure 47). The park was begun in 1955, and completed the following year, with the exception of the fountain. The fountain was added to the Lion’s Park between 1957 and 1958. The park added not only the fountain, but also tree planting in the center of the Common, picnic tables and litter bins.242

The 1950s were also the beginning of the interest in the importance of the town’s history and in its preservation. During this time the Porter-Phelps-Huntington Foundation was created and the house museum incorporated. This interest in preservation of Hadley’s history continued in the 1970s. A 1974 study by the Conway School evaluated the historic Common landscape and concluded that, Hadley’s “location on rich farm land in a beautiful valley of one of the nation’s great rivers is obscured by visual pollution of some magnitude.”243 The Conway report recommended that the protection of the Common take precedence over the development of Route 9, that the existing utility lines be buried to restore the scenic quality of the view, and the removal of the Lion’s Park from the Common.244

The Hadley Historical Commission was created in 1974, and since its beginning has been active in preserving the historic character of the town and the Common.245 One of the situations in which the newly formed Historic Commission acted to preserve the Common was the controversy with Edwin Podolak. Podolak wanted to build a restaurant at the corner of the Common and Russell Street. The Hadley Historical Commission felt the proposed location for the restaurant was too close to the Common and protested that Podolak was not in compliance with set-backs required by zoning laws.246

The central argument of the case that came before the Zoning Board of Appeals, became the legal status of the Common. Podolak considered the common “a public lot,” citing the historic presence of buildings on the common (specifically the meetinghouses and school) and argued that these facts should be used in calculating how far his restaurant should be set back from the street (allowing for a narrower set-back than would have been possible if only the neighboring properties were used to calculate the set-back).247 But Dorothy Russell, speaking for the Hadley Historical Commission, countered that the common had always been known as “the street”, or part of “the street”, not a separate lot. The Historical Commission prepared a statement to the Zoning Board of Appeals in which, among other things, they declared the Common to be “the single most significant historical asset in the town of Hadley”.248 In 1977, the Zoning Board of Appeals ruled that “the common has never been recorded as [a “public lot”] at the Registry of Deeds, unlike the Boston Common,” and could not be used to calculate the set-back for Podolak’s proposal.249 Therefore, in order to conform to local zoning laws, Podolak would have to push back his building an additional four feet. He subsequently abandoned his plans for the restaurant.250

In the same year the Podolak controversy was decided, the Hadley Center Historic District was added to the National Register of Historic Places. This listing focused on seventeen civic buildings along Middle and Russell Streets, including the 1804 meetinghouse and the 1841 town hall.251
In 1985, the Town of Hadley was one of forty towns that submitted proposals to the Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management, which had made seven million dollars available for the preservation of twenty town commons throughout the state. A series of meetings were held to gather public opinion. Issues discussed at these meetings included number of street lights along the Common, curbs, and parking (specifically that part of the parking lot at the restaurant at the northwest intersection of the Common and Russell Street be returned to the tree belt). Unfortunately, the proposal submitted by the town was not among those selected for funding, as the matching donation from the town required by the grant was not in place. The increasing appreciation of the value of the historic Common was reflected in its inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places in 1994, through a boundary increase to the original 1977 district. This increase added additional properties along the Common, Russell Street, Middle Street, Bay Road and within the Great Meadow. It added a total of 392 contributing buildings, sites, structures and objects to the Hadley Center Historic District.

In 1996, the town erected a plaque on the Common, just north of the Lion’s Park, to commemorate the palisades which once encircled the Common (Figure 48).

In recent years there have been many controversies involving the Common and Great Meadow, resulting largely from development pressures. During the 1990s there emerged a plan to develop a parcel in the Great Meadow for use as a large trash sorting facility. This was to be located on the northern side of the peninsula, on the site of the town’s trash disposal site. The existing trash disposal area had evolved from a depression in the Great Meadow remaining from one of the floods during the first part of the century. It was initially an informal dump site, but became the formal trash disposal site in the 1940s. The proposal for a large facility within the Meadow aroused concern amongst residents of Cemetery Road and along the Common, as well as the Hadley Historical Commission. Concerns were raised over the environmental effect on the Meadow, as well as the effect on the scenic and historic character of the landscape. Increased traffic along the Common, Cemetery Road and North Lane was also a concern. The Hadley Historical Commission commented on the proposal, stating that, “the proposed route will take the vehicles alongside the historic town common on West Street, with potential detrimental effects. The town common is one of the best preserved in the commonwealth. It is one of picturesque beauty with historic homes dating back to the 1700s beside it.” Following a series of legal actions, the developer abandoned plans for the facility in 2001. The town currently operates a small transfer station at the site.
The possibility of a large housing development on the Holyoke Range in recent years threatened the not only Range itself, but also the viewshed from the Common. Community activists gathered in opposition to the development, in November 1999 founding Save the Mountain, which continues to be active today.258

The integrity of the Common is also under constant threat from the increasing traffic along the Route 9 corridor. Widening of the section of the highway where it passes through the Common, from the current three lanes, is among the changes proposed by the Highway Department to deal with traffic problems along this main artery.259 The congestion along Route 9 has created other traffic concerns for residents along the Common, as increasing numbers of people travel between the University, the Coolidge Bridge, and the Interstate 91 interchange along the Common, Cemetery Road and Cross Path Road, in order to avoid the hassles of traffic along Russell Street.

The railroad vanished from many New England towns in the twentieth century, and the former rail beds converted to new recreational uses. In 1983, work crews began ripping up the Boston and Maine Railroad tracks for the future trail.260 After a period of controversy, Hadley joined the large numbers of communities linked by “rail trails.” The Norwottuck Rail Trail, which follows the former path of the Boston and Maine Railroad, is an 8.5 mile path that links Northampton, Hadley, and Amherst.

The Common is still used for community events, though infrequently. For a time it was the site of the annual Festival of Lights and Sounds, which took place on the Sunday after Christmas.261 In 2002 the Hadley History Fair was held on the Common, and a Green Party peace rally occurred there the following year. Although also used occasionally for informal recreation, mainly by those residents along the Common, the Common’s function today is largely scenic. The views of and from the Common are experienced for the most part by residents and users of the rail trail and the footpath along the north edge of the Common, adjacent to the Connecticut River. The Common also serves an educational function, and hosts field trips from local schools and colleges for students learning about American history, culture, architecture and landscape.

The Great Meadow today continues in agricultural use. The land supports various crops, including corn, squash and nursery stock. This historical land pattern of individual strips farmed by various owners (currently 136 parcels owned by 87 different individuals) which still exists, is threatened by potential future development of the meadow lands. Recent activities by local land trusts are working to preserve sections of this land for the immediate future.


Natural Systems and Features

The Connecticut River, halted in the process of eroding land from the north end of the Common and portions of the meadows by the dike, continues to be the major natural system which organizes this landscape. Portions of the Great Meadow, particularly those in the northwestern part of the peninsula – the “Honey Pot” – continue to be worn away by the river, while other areas continually receive deposits of sediment.
Topography

The peninsula on which the Common and the Great Meadow are located was divided into two separate areas by the extension of the dike in 1936. The Common remains a level expanse of green. In 1970, "that portion of the [Bay] Road near the lower south side of West Street [the Common] was constructed so as to act also as a dike against high waters."262 To accomplish this the road was elevated road two to three feet, and was also widened to forty-six feet.263

Spatial Organization

The Common, due to the Lion’s Club park, has been divided into two spaces, visually and spatially (Figure 49). The homes along the Common, as well as the trees bordering the street, and those near Russell Street form a larger, grand-scale space. The double rows of trees along the Common create smaller, pedestrian-scale spaces.

Land Use

Much of the Hadley Common and Great Meadow continues in residential and agricultural patterns, comparable to those established at the settlement of the town in 1659, although these two uses are no longer as intermingled as they once were (Figure 50). The creation of zoning bylaws in Hadley established the Common as a residential/agricultural district, bisected by the commercial corridor of Route 9 (Russell Street).
Circulation

Today the length of the Common is only traveled in order to bypass congested traffic on Route 9. The majority of travelers speed through the Common along Russell Street on their way to other destinations. "Shortcut" traffic from the University, using the Common and Cemetery Road to access the Coolidge Bridge has become an increasing concern to residents of the street (Figure 51).

Pedestrian and cycle traffic within the area is focused along the rail trail and the footpath north of the Common.

Buildings and Structures

Many existing homes along the Common were constructed prior to the twentieth century, including the oldest home in Hadley, the Porter-McQueston house, constructed in 1713. In addition to this home, there exist fifty-two houses along the Common which were constructed prior to 1904. Behind many of these homes are fields, barns and tobacco sheds. Forty-two of these structures date to the nineteenth century (Figure 52). Architectural styles of structures along the Common include Georgian, Greek Revival, Federal, Queen Anne, Colonial Revival and Craftsman.

Vegetation

The elms and maples of the nineteenth century have been replaced by the maples and oaks of today. However, what is important is the spatial quality of the plants, the famous double row of trees, not necessarily the species. Trees along the Common today are predominantly a mixture of silver and sugar maples, with the occasional walnut or butternut, or
pin oak intermingled. They are planted in strips 30' wide between the sidewalk and the paved roadway of the Common (Figure 53).

Views and Vistas

The view from the top of Mount Holyoke toward Hadley continues to be an important manner of viewing the town and the long streets, mainly the Common and Middle Street (Figure 54). Unfortunately, the historic view from the Common towards the mountain has been somewhat obstructed by telephone and electric wires, as well as the maturing trees planted with the installation of the Lion’s Club park. The direct view toward the river from the Common on the north end has also been obstructed due to the construction of the dike. Peek-a-boo views between houses allow one to look past barns at the back of homelots to the agricultural fields beyond.

Small-Scale Features

As part of the Lion’s Club park, a fountain and various benches and trash receptacles were installed near the north side of Russell Street on the Common (Figure 55). Located near this area is a plaque, dedicated in 1996, erected for the purpose of remembering the palisades which once surrounded the Common.

Figure 53: The Common’s double row of shade trees today.

Figure 54: View of the Hadley Common from Mt. Holyoke today.
Summary

Hadley’s Common has become recognized as a significant historical space. This cultural landscape has retained its residential and agricultural use, with many historic homes, barns, and other structures adjacent to the Common. Shade trees define the edges of the Common, as they have done for centuries. The Common also serves modern functions for the community as a gathering space, for informal recreation and for education. Despite this, the Common has become increasingly threatened by the demands of traffic and development.

Figure 55: Lion’s Park on the Common today.
PART 2: Analysis and Evaluation

Introduction

Part Two of this study is an analysis of the integrity and significance of the existing conditions. It includes:

- A suggested period of significance for the Hadley Common and the Great Meadow.
- A comparison of landscape characteristics and features as they existed in the period of significance with the same characteristics and features as they are today, as a means of evaluating the historical integrity of the landscape.
- Indication of those elements should be considered contributing or non contributing to the proposed historic district.

Period of Significance

According to the Secretary of the Interior, in order for a cultural landscape to be considered historically significant, it must fulfill at least one of the following criteria:

A. Associated with events that, "have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history, or"
B. Associated with the lives of persons significant in our past, or
C. Display distinct characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, representing the work of a master, or possessing high artistic values, or represent a significant form, or
D. Have yielded, or may yield information important to history. 266

The Hadley Common and the Great Meadow together comprise a landscape that is historically significant according to criterion A, an association with historical events or patterns.

Hadley Common and the Great Meadow together appear to be a remnant seventeenth-century agricultural landscape: of common street and adjoining house lots with closely associated agricultural fields which retain most of their original property subdivisions.

The relationship of this cultural landscape to the settlement of the Connecticut River Valley, its importance as the center of the town of Hadley for over a century, and its resulting role in the historic events surrounding this small town in Western Massachusetts (such as the quartering of Burgoyne during the Revolutionary War) determines its significance under Criterion A. 267

The period of significance for this landscape begins in 1659, the date of the settlement of the town. It ends in 1904, by which time the major contributing features and characteristics of the landscape had been established. This was also the date of the completion of the paved, east-west road, which marked the beginning of the modern history and patterns of development of Hadley. While the history of the Common after this date is also significant (and described in this report),
it does not result in the physical features and characteristics which are the basis for the historical significance of this landscape.

Site Analysis

Analysis of the Hadley Common and the Great Meadow involves the comparison of landscape characteristics and features as they exist today, with the same characteristics and features as they existed during the period of significance. The subsequent assessment of these existing and non-existing characteristics forms the basis for the evaluation of the landscape’s integrity. The site analysis is broken into individual landscape characteristics, with a description of both historic and existing conditions preceding the determination of whether the characteristic is in evidence. Contributing characteristics and features are those that were “present during the period of significance, and possess historic integrity reflecting their character at that time or are capable of yielding important information about that period.” Non-contributing characteristics and features are those which were “not present during the significant period, or due to alterations, disturbances, additions, or other changes, they no longer possess historic integrity reflecting their character at that time.” This site analysis is the basis for the assessment of the historical integrity of the cultural landscape. An additional analysis of the Great Meadow is provided at the end of this section.

Analysis by Landscape Features and Characteristics

Natural Systems and Features

Historic: The flow of the Connecticut River was the principal organizing element for the settlement at Hadley, which created the peninsula where the Common, running north and south, was established, the river at either end. This relationship to the river, while essential for transportation and defense, proved hazardous as well. The proximity to the Connecticut River brought frequently flooding as well as erosion to the peninsula itself. Sediment was worn from the north side of the peninsula. This erosion and deposition of soil changed the direct relationship of the Common to the river on the south end, moving the river bank away from the end of the street. While reinforcements of the river bank were begun as early as 1730, the earthen dike in place today was not completed until after 1936.

Existing: The dike at the north end of the Common was constructed to protect the Common and the town against further flooding and erosion. Erosion continues, however, in the portion of the Great Meadow located beyond the dike. It is unknown how much of the total area of the Hadley peninsula has been eroded by the river since the town was laid out. The southern bank of the peninsula has moved approximately 0.35 miles from the end of the street.

Analysis: The relationship between street and river was originally vital to those who settled at Hadley in 1659. The river was the main method of transportation between Hadley and the remainder of the valley, and also provided protection for the town. As these needs faded, so did the importance of this association. The dike extension
after 1936 was the completion of this change. Instead of the previous direct relationship to the river, the north end of the Common was separated from the river by the earthworks that are the present river bank reinforcement. At the south end the deposition of silt by the river had moved the river bank away from the street, changing that relationship as well.

Today, the river continues to shape the land of the peninsula beyond the dike extension, contributing to the formation and change of the land, especially in the Great Meadow. The river’s relationship to the Common is a factor indirectly contributing to the character of the Common, because although it determined the current form of the street, it is no longer a significant visual element of the Common landscape.

**Topography**

Historic: The land on which the settlers established their broad street, highways, and homelots in 1659 had little change in elevation over all, but on the local scale, had many small hills and ridges, ponds and depressions. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Common was leveled for aesthetic purposes.

Existing: The Common today, as a whole appears flat, with little change in elevation. The Great Meadow however has been divided into essentially two terraces: the upper behind the 1936 dike extension, and the lower portion beyond the dike. This man-made earthwork is the main topological feature of the Hadley peninsula.

Analysis: The topography of the Common as it exists dates to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and is a factor contributing to the historic character of the common.

**Spatial Organization**

Historic: The Common as originally laid out was a long central open space surrounded by homelots and homes which defined the eastern and western edges of the street. The Connecticut River served as the boundaries of the Common on the north and south. Extending from the Common were six highways, three on each side, arranged as North, Middle, and South highways. These highways divided the town as it into quarters. Trees planted later along the edge of the street served to further enclose and define the Common. Extending west behind the homelots was the large open space comprised of the linear lots of the Great Meadow.

Existing: The Hadley Common today is a large linear open space defined on the west and east by a double row of a variety of trees, including large shade trees such as maple and oak adjoining the homes arranged along either side of the street. The northern edge of the Common is created by the earthen mound of the dike, while the southern boundary is Bay Road, which divides the Common from houses later built on the land deposited by the river. The Hadley Common is still divided in quarters,
although the quartering is now accomplished by Route 9 (Russell Street) as it bisects the common; the Middle Highway to the Meadow, or Cemetery Road, is much diminished in comparison. North of Route 9 and west of the homes and barns along the Common, the northern portion of the Great Meadow continues open to the river, hemmed in only by clumps of trees along the river’s edge, and divided in two by the dike extension. The Route 9 corridor also bisects the expanse of the Great Meadow, dividing it into a larger northern section and a southern (and smaller) portion. The southern section of the Meadow has been somewhat more susceptible to development than the northern, as the railroad which ran parallel to Route 9 acted as an additional deterrent to the spread of development northward.

Analysis: The spatial organization of the Common remains largely intact. Homes and trees still form a contrast between the human-scaled homelots and edges of the street, and the grand scale of the large central open space which is the Common. The Connecticut River no longer forms the boundaries to this large space on the north and south. Instead these boundaries are formed by the earthen dike to the north and Bay Road and further homes to the south. The open expanse of the Great Meadow exists in the northern portion of those agricultural fields.

Land Use

Historic: The Hadley Common existed as both an agricultural and residential space until the late eighteenth century, when it shifted away from its agricultural functions as pasture for various livestock, becoming a common residential space, or “community lawn.” However, the homelots along the street continued to act as both residential and agricultural spaces. The Great Meadow was used solely as an agricultural resource.

Existing: The Common serves today as an expanded residential space, largely “owned” by those residing in homes along its length, but available to others of the town as well. Homes along the street serve primarily as residences, although some with larger lots are involved in small agriculture, using barns and the space available to grow gardens, etc. The Great Meadow today continues to function as agricultural land, although a portion has been appropriated for municipal purposes. This agricultural space, like the Common itself, is divided by Route 9, which is zoned for commercial purposes.

Analysis: The historic residential and agricultural land use of this area is largely in existence, divided only by the commercial corridor of Route 9 which bisects the Common and the Great Meadow. This is an important characteristic contributing to the historic integrity of the Common.

Circulation

Historic: Originally the Common was the main route of circulation north and south
through the town of Hadley, connecting at the river on both ends with ferries which facilitated transportation with Northampton, Hatfield (post 1670), and beyond to Springfield, Hartford and Boston. Three highways extending west from the Common, known as the North, Middle, and South highways to the meadow, facilitated movement between the homelots and the agricultural fields. Three similar highways on the eastern side of the Common originally connected the settlers to the Pine Plain, and then eventually to the back street (Middle Street), North Hadley and other Hadley neighborhoods, and the town of Amherst. The north highway to the west was worn away entirely by the erosive action of the Connecticut River, as were parts of the north highway to the east. The new north highway to the east, created many feet south of its original position, is still in its original configuration (North Lane). As the valley modernized, a pattern of east-west traffic, contrary to the original north-south pattern, developed.

Existing: Today Russell Street, and the east-west traffic pattern that culminated in the paving of this road in 1904, is the main circulation through this part of Hadley. This busy highway bisects the Common. The northern portion of the Common intersects Cemetery Road, an alternative route to the Coolidge Bridge for those wishing to avoid Route 9 traffic. The north highway to the east is North Lane, the middle highway to the east is Russell Street, and the south highway to the east is Bay Road. The middle and south highways extending west from the Common continue to exist as Cemetery Road and Bay Road, respectively. The Common is also crossed by the Norwottuck rail trail, which runs along the old bed of the Boston and Maine railroad.

Analysis: The present circulation exists in a manner similar to that at the end of the period of significance, with the pattern of east-west travel. The Common still exists as a route of north-south travel, but only on a local basis. Highways from the Common have evolved and exist today as Bay Road, North Lane, Cemetery Road, and Russell Street. The railroad has been replaced by the rail trail, while the exact path of the electric trolley is no longer in existence, though it likely followed the same path as the paved lanes which run the length of the Common.

Buildings and Structures

Historic: Homes were constructed along the east and west sides of the Common, as well as additional homes on small lots along the north highway to the east. Eventually these homes were replaced, but the new structures had approximately the same setback as the older buildings, retaining the sense of enclosure to the Common. Houses were added along the street as the original homelots were divided to accommodate these structures. Historically there were a few structures constructed on the common itself, including the first, second, and third meetinghouses, and the first and second schoolhouses. Additionally, the structure of the palisades existed around the Hadley settlement until 1713. Barns were often constructed on the homelots behind the houses to store crops of tobacco and onions.
Existing: Most homes along the Common today were constructed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The oldest home in Hadley, the Porter-McQueston home, constructed in 1713, is still located along the Common. While several barns exist behind homes along the Common, many were destroyed by the hurricane of 1938.

Analysis: Homes existing along the Common today that were constructed within the span of time covered by the period of significance are a contributing element of this landscape. Homes constructed after this date, though not considered historically significant for the purposes of this report, are valuable as they have maintained a size and set-back appropriate to this historic space. Barns and other structures within the period of significance are also significant agricultural remnants and thus contribute to the character of the Common.

Vegetation

Historic: It is unclear what vegetation existed among the houselots and along the Common as no specific vegetation is mentioned with the exception of the Pine Plain to the east of the village. It is likely that the land had been mostly cleared of trees and brush at the time of settlement, as a result of agricultural practices and yearly burning. During the mid-eighteenth century some elms and other shade trees were planted along the Common. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth century saw the development of a double row of trees along both lengths of the street, mostly elms and maples. Vegetation in the Great Meadow was mainly agricultural in nature, with some clumps of wetland species along the banks of the Connecticut.

Existing: With the onset of Dutch Elm Disease, and the destruction resulting from the hurricane of 1938, the famous elms of Hadley were gradually replaced with the double rows of maples and various other shade trees such as oaks and butternuts, of today. The Great Meadow continues in agricultural use, and thus the vegetation there varies depending upon crops raised. These crops include nursery stock, corn, squash and other crops. The banks of the Connecticut River along the peninsula are lined with various trees and shrubs.

Analysis: While the historic elms of Hadley no longer exist along the Common, the species of shade tree is less important than the general size, shape, and arrangement of the vegetation along the street. This existing double row of trees is an important feature contributing to the historic character of the Common.

Views and Vistas

Historic: Views of the village of Hadley and its Common from Mount Holyoke were appreciated early in the history of the town. Outings to the top of the mountain providing access to this view were facilitated by the construction of first the summit house in 1821, and then the replacement structure, the Prospect House, in 1851.
Views from the Common were mainly to the north, west and south. The view to the north from the Common took in the opposite bank of the river, where the settlement of Hatfield was located. Views to the west from along the Common looked into the agricultural meadow lands of the Great Meadow. The southern view was most admired, with the double rows of trees along the street framing the view to Mount Holyoke, and post-1821, the summit house on top.

Existing: The view from the top of Mount Holyoke today is largely unchanged, except for the continued growth of the towns around the historic center of Hadley.

Views north from the Common have been largely blocked by the dike along the bank of the Connecticut River. The view west from the Common, though not as open as it perhaps was historically, still provides views toward the agricultural fields of the Great Meadow. The view south from the Common toward Mount Holyoke and the Prospect House has been impeded by the trees planted on the Common near Route 9 as part of the Lion’s Park. Telephone wires strung along the length of the Common also detract from the historic view.

Analysis: The view from the top of Mount Holyoke is existing and remains significant.

While views to the north from the Common were mentioned, the most important are the views to the south and west. Except for the effects of the Route 9 corridor, much of the view from the Common yet exists. However, the historically significant view south from the Common has been drastically altered due to the growth of trees in the center of the Common and the visual distraction of the telephone wires.

Small-Scale Features

Historic: Ponds existed along the Common until the early nineteenth century, when the Common was leveled. Gates and fences at both ends of the Common and at the highways leading away from it, were maintained to enclose or keep out livestock, depending on the season, and for defensive purposes. The exact date that these latter small-scale features were removed is unknown.

Existing: Monuments including that for the first meetinghouse, the regicides, Hooker’s birthplace and the palisades are located on the Common today. Other small-scale features include the Lion’s Park with fountain, various benches and trash receptacles.

Analysis: None of the small-scale features identified in this report exist today from the period of significance. Thus these features do not contribute significantly to the historic character of the Common.
Analysis of the Great Meadow

"At its simplest, open field agriculture was the means by which land was cultivated by the inhabitants of a township who worked their holdings in unenclosed parcels." A significant portion of Hadley’s Great Meadow then remains an open field landscape and retains much of its original open field pattern (Figure 56). As a map of furlongs and strips as originally laid out does not exist, it is somewhat difficult to determine the amount of change from 1659 to today. It is possible to recreate a rough plan using data from the Hadley Proprietor’s Records, 1665 – 1779 (Figure 57). Unfortunately even with these records some information remains incomplete. There is however, sufficient data from these records to determine that approximately twenty-six percent of the strips for which information exists remain the same size and in the same location as they were when originally allotted. Another
twenty-five percent of the strips appear to have been subdivided at some point in the history of the town, and forty-four percent of the strips consolidated. The consolidation and subdivision of strips within the meadow began early in the history of the town. Records indicate that this process started as early as 1666, only seven years after the town was laid out. The precise layout of the strips within the meadow then becomes less important than the pattern of strips and the furlongs into which they were grouped. While some portions of the furlongs have been lost by erosion from the Connecticut River, the pattern of furlongs as laid out at the town’s settlement remains intact (Figure 58).

Figure 58: Furlongs within the Great Meadow as originally laid out. Map constructed using information taken from Hadley Proprietor’s Records, 1665-1779 (left). Pattern of furlongs in the Great Meadow today (right).

Statement of Integrity

Historical integrity is defined by the Secretary of the Interior as “the authenticity of a cultural landscape’s historical identity, evidenced by the survival of physical characteristics that existed during its historic period.” Integrity is assessed by evaluating the intactness of the historical landscape characteristics and features, whether they exist in the present much as they did during the landscape’s period of significance, thus retaining the landscape’s historic character.

There are seven aspects of historic integrity, developed to assist in the evaluation of the landscape and its character. These aspects are:

- **Location** – the place where the landscape was constructed or the historical event occurred
- **Design** – the combination of elements that create the form of the landscape
- **Setting** – the physical environment of the landscape
- **Materials** – the physical elements combined or deposited in a particular time or pattern to create the landscape
- **Workmanship** – the physical evidence of the crafts of a culture or people during the historic period
- **Feeling** – the landscape’s expression of the aesthetic or historic sense during the period
- **Association** – the direct link between the historic person or event and the landscape.
The most important aspects to examine with regard to this cultural landscape of the Hadley West Street Common and Great Meadow are location, design, setting, and feeling. After reviewing the integrity of these aspects, a judgment may be made regarding the historic integrity of the landscape as a whole.

Location

Hadley’s Common and Great Meadow retains high integrity in this aspect, as the location of the historically significant features of the town are much the same as during the period of significance. Location is important to this evaluation, as the peninsula landform of Hadley was significant to the establishment of the town. The village was laid out across the neck of the peninsula to take advantage of the opportunities for transport and defense which the peninsula landform offered.

Design

This landscape retains partial integrity in design. While the overall spatial organization and layout remains very similar to that seen in the period of significance, including the Common, the highways, and the agricultural fields remaining of the Great Meadow, some non-contributing residences exist along West Street. Other non-contributing features are also evident, such as the trees, fountain, benches, and trash receptacles of the Lion’s Park on the Common near Russell Street (Route 9), as well as the rail trail. The development of Route 9 has also segmented the landscape of the Great Meadow.

Setting

The setting of this cultural landscape retains high integrity, being surrounded by largely residential and agricultural lands, despite the intrusion of the commercial Route 9 corridor. The retention of the original setting is increased as one moves away from Route 9.

Feeling

The feeling of the landscape of the Hadley Common and the Great Meadow retains partial integrity. It dates to the late eighteenth and nineteenth aesthetic and historic sense of the Common as a larger extension of the residential uses surrounding it – the view of the Common as a community lawn. However, the change in circulation in 1904, and seen in Route 9 today, detracts from the significance of the historic feeling of the landscape.

Integrity of Landscape

The cultural landscape of the Hadley Common and Great Meadow possesses high or partial significance in those aspects of integrity mentioned. The assessment of these aspects along with the historic landscape characteristics evaluated earlier in the site analysis and their relative importance are used to make a determination as to the historic integrity of the site as a whole.
Based on this evaluation, it is evident that the Hadley Common and the Great Meadow display significant historic integrity.

**Comparative Analysis**

The layout and settlement of towns within the Connecticut Valley shared many similarities, partly due to the riverine topography and location of intervale meadows, but also because new towns created in the valley were usually settled by inhabitants of other Connecticut Valley towns. Towns along the Connecticut River were frequently laid out as linear street villages with associated open fields in the intervale meadows. The beginnings of Hadley then were not unique in situation. Comparison of various significant towns along the Connecticut River with the Hadley Common and Great Meadow will illustrate both the similarities and differences between some of these early settlements, and help determine the value of the Hadley landscape today in a regional context. The following town commons (or greens as they are known in Connecticut) were identified in the Department of Environmental Management publication *Common Wealth: how to protect the heritage and invest in the future of your town common*, as good examples of linear commons.275 Commons were also compared which had an historical relationship to the Hadley Common (such as the Hatfield Common, which was once part of the Hadley settlement).

The historic commons (or greens) included within this comparative analysis are located in the Connecticut towns of Wethersfield, Suffield and Enfield, and the Massachusetts towns of Hatfield, Sunderland, Deerfield and Northfield (Figure 59). The comparison will include a brief summary of the settlement and layout of each town, and a description of the town’s common and intervale meadows today. This sample will provide a basis for better assessing the regional significance of the Hadley Common and Great Meadow.

![Figure 59: Location of comparative analysis towns within the Connecticut River Valley.](image)
Wethersfield, Connecticut (1634)

Settlement

Settled in 1634, by two groups from Watertown, Massachusetts, Wethersfield claims to be the oldest permanent settlement in Connecticut. The village was laid out to the west of the intervale meadows located along the river. House lots were arranged along two streets, creating a town of “2 distinct parts,” which intersected at the meetinghouse square at the center of the town (Figure 60). This arrangement, “reflecting the formation of the town by two groups of colonists, arriving in quick succession but uniting in the allocation of lands.” In addition to the house lots, there were allocated field lots adjacent to the house lots, as well as other farm lots in the meadows, laid out in long narrow strips. Remaining undivided lands were held in common by the inhabitants of the town.

The earlier group settled along the broad street laid out south of the meetinghouse, nearer the intervale meadows, with the second, somewhat larger group of inhabitants taking lots nearer the Wethersfield harbor a year later. Home lots along both streets were on average approximately 3 acres in size.

Present Condition

Wethersfield’s Broad Street Green today is similar in form and size as it was when laid out in 1634. The Green is bounded on both sides by Broad Street, in a manner similar to the Hadley Common and West Street. The context of the Green remains residential, though only a few of the homes, those located on the northeast side of the Green, are still located on long lots similar to those originally laid out along the Green. The remainder of the original long homelots surrounding the Green have been subdivided.
The Green itself is segmented by two roads (Garden Street and Elm Street) which cut across the space east to west. The two northern sections of the Green have little noticeable change in topography, but the southmost segment of the common is concave in form, with water draining to the center of the Green. A row of trees of mixed species, including maple, beech, oak and linden, lines each side of the Green, as well as along Garden and Elm Streets where they cross the Green. There are also trees scattered through the Green, both singly and in clumps. This placement of trees emphasizes the park-like qualities of the Green (Figure 61). Also located within the Green is a baseball/softball pitch with chain-link backstop. Planters, benches and litter bins are arranged under trees near the pitch. Telephone poles run the length of the Green on both sides.

Although at the time of the settlement of the broad street open fields were created from the intervale meadows along the Connecticut River, there is no evidence of intact open field patterns within the Wethersfield meadows in current aerial photographs of the town.283

Hatfield, Massachusetts (1661)

Settlement

Originally part of the town of Hadley, Hatfield was laid out in 1661 on the west side of the Connecticut River. The main settlement at Hadley was located on the east side of the river. The town street was established in 1661, running north and south for nearly a mile, and was ten rods in width. Highways extended out from the main street east and west to the river and to Northampton and other neighboring towns (Figure 62). The southern end of the street was wider than the north end, to serve as a common space for the settler’s use.284 Home lots, containing generally four to eight acres of land, were laid out on both sides of the street, with the wider southern end of the street settled first. The majority of the lots on the east side of the street were sixteen rods in width, while the lots on the west side were more varied in size.285
Lands in the meadows on the west side of the river were allotted after the main street and home lots were laid out. Each proprietor received lands in the meadows in proportion to the amount invested in the settlement. There were four meadows laid out on the west side of the river: the Great Meadow (also known as the North or Upper Meadow), Little Meadow, Great Pansett and Little Pansett. When the meadow lands were distributed, some settlers who resided on the east side of the river (at Hadley) were allotted lands within Great Pansett and Little Pansett. There was a fence constructed which divided the lands of those proprietors on the east side of the river from those of the settlers on the west side within Great Pansett. Eventually those lands owned by east side proprietors were sold to the west side (Hatfield) residents. The remainder of the undivided lands in Hatfield were held in common for the use of the town.

Initially the inhabitants on the west side of the river would cross the Connecticut to attend meetings and worship services at the settlement on the east side. However, “on account of the trouble had in crossing the Connecticut River,” in 1668, the proprietors constructed their own meetinghouse on the west side of the river in the middle of the town street. For this same reason, the Massachusetts General Court set Hatfield apart as a separate town in 1670.

**Present Condition**

Though also a linear settlement established much the same time as Hadley, the Hatfield town street and common (at the southern part of the town street) has evolved into a very different type of space. A central green exists, and the current Main Street runs north to south along the center of the
original common street. A line of large shade trees and a footpath set well back along both sides of the street indicate the original size of the town street (Figure 63). There is also a small triangular island of “common” located between the two southern legs of Main Street and Bridge Lane. A line of telephone poles runs along the west side of the Main Street.

The street is largely residential in character, although there do exist some commercial and civic buildings, such as the school, along Main Street near the intersections of Billings Way and of School Street.

Though the majority of Hatfield’s meadows no longer possess the same open field pattern seen at Hadley, in one meadow (Great Pansett) located immediately south of Main Street, long strips can still be seen. However, this pattern is not as extensive as that seen at Hadley’s Great Meadow. There are several tobacco barns located along South Street within Great Pansett. The meadow is visually disconnected from the Main Street by these barns and other structures which block views between the two.

Deerfield, Massachusetts (1671)

Settlement

Purchased from the local Native Americans in 1666, the land which would become the town of Deerfield was a grant awarded to the town of Dedham by the General Court in exchange for land at Natick. The main street was laid out in 1670, running north to south, six rods wide and approximately a mile in length, with highways three rods wide leading east and west from the street (Figure 64). A common was located in the center of the main street “20 rods wide from ye east line of ye town street‘ which when subtracting the six-rod-wide street gave the training field a width of fourteen rods.” This common was the location of the first four Deerfield meetinghouses and also served as the town’s training field. The lands within the meadows were also allotted at this time.

The forty-three original homelots which lined both sides of the street were inhabited beginning in 1671. The meadows lay directly west of the town street and the homelots, and extended to the river. These meadows ran along the banks of the river for an approximate distance of four

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Figure 64: Deerfield in 1794. (Source: Susan McGowan and Amelia F. Miller, Family and Landscape: Deerfield homelots from 1671.)
miles and were divided into the North and South Meadows. A highway two rods wide ran through these meadows, north to south.

The settlement was incorporated by the General Court of Massachusetts as the Town of Deerfield in 1673. Like several northern towns in the Connecticut River Valley, Deerfield was vulnerable to attack, and was abandoned and then destroyed by Native Americans during King Phillips War in 1675. Settlers did not return to Deerfield for two years. The town was again abandoned and destroyed after several settlers were killed by hostile natives. It was not resettled again until 1682.

The first Deerfield meetinghouse was built in 1684, and was, “a log building, daubed with clay and the roof thatched.” This meetinghouse was located on the Common, which also came to be known as “Meetinghouse Hill.” This “hill” was fortified by palisades in 1690 to provide protection for the people of Deerfield.

Present Condition

The Common today has become a park-like space, with the buildings of the Deerfield Academy fronting onto two sides of the Common (Figure 65). The Common has also been used as a place of remembrance, and contains a Civil War monument surrounded by ornamental shrub planting. Trees of various species line the Common. Footpaths cross the Common, running east-west and north-south. Civic and commercial buildings lie along the street in proximity to the Common, including the Historic Deerfield Inn. Much of the remainder of the original town street is residential in character, though thirteen of these homes are “museum houses” of Historic Deerfield, an organization incorporated in 1952 to preserve the architecture and character of Old Deerfield. Trees line both sides of the town street.

The open fields which once existed adjacent to the town street at Deerfield appear to no longer exist, as the pattern of long strips characteristic of the open field are not present in current aerial photographs of the town.
Northfield, Massachusetts (1672)

Settlement

The deed for the land which was to become Northfield was acquired from the Native Americans of that area in 1671. Northfield was so named because it was the northernmost settlement in the Connecticut River Valley at that time; as such it was vulnerable to attack by groups of hostile Native Americans. It was because of this isolation that the original settlement was abandoned and resettled more than once.

The town was first laid out in 1672, with the main street set out first, about a mile in length, and running north to south, parallel to the Connecticut River. Homelots were first located at the southern end of the main street (now Northfield Street). The lots were approximately seven and one-half acres in size, and generally twenty rods wide. They were laid out with sixteen lots to the west side of the street and four to the east. The homelots sat adjacent to the Great Meadow of Northfield, and allotments were given in this meadow and Pauchang (the other main field of the Northfield settlement) in proportion to the amount each proprietor invested in the new town. The Great Meadow of Northfield contained approximately 385 acres and was divided into three parts or furlongs into which the individual strips of the allotments were grouped. Pauchang was similarly divided into two parts. The strips in both meadows ran perpendicular to the adjacent Connecticut River. Highways divided both meadows near the centers, running north and south. The swamps and forests within the town were held in common for pasture, fuel and other needs.

The first settlers arrived soon after the town was laid out, in the spring of 1673. The settlers, "built small huts, covered them with thatch, and near the centre made one for public worship...they also ran a stockade and fort around a number of...houses." The majority of these settlers came from the town of Northampton, and when the town was destroyed for the first...
time in 1675, the settlers abandoned Northfield and returned to Northampton and neighboring Hadley.\textsuperscript{312}

In 1682 the General Court of Massachusetts was petitioned for the resettlement of Northfield. The petition was granted, and the town again laid out in 1684, in a manner similar to that of the first Northfield settlement (Figure 66). In 1685, twenty settlers arrived to inhabit the town. Northfield was again abandoned in 1690 due to reports of increasing troubles with hostile Native American groups at the commencement of King Williams War. The town was not resettled until 1714.\textsuperscript{313} Once again the town was laid out and allotments given, with only eight of the proprietors returning from the previous settlement. In 1723, Northfield was incorporated by the Massachusetts General Court.\textsuperscript{314}

\textit{Present Condition}

Like Hatfield, the current main street (Northfield Street) at Northfield runs through the center of the tract of land that originally was the common town street. The extent of the original town street is still visible from the rows of trees and the footpaths on both sides, placed well back from the tarmacadam traveling lanes (Figure 67). Northfield Street today is one segment of highway routes 63 and 10, with traffic traveling at high speeds along its length.

The street is lined with a mixture of residential, commercial and civic buildings. Various species of shade trees, including maple and oak, line both sides of Northfield Street. A line of telephone poles also runs along the west side of the street.

Current aerial photographs of the town show no evidence of the long strips of the open field pattern within Northfield’s intervale meadows.
Sunderland, Massachusetts (1674)

Settlement

Sunderland originally was part of the town of Hadley, when the Massachusetts General Court granted permission for a settlement to be established at the northern end of Hadley in 1673. The settlement was originally known as Swampfield due to the “numerous swamps” within its boundaries. One of these swamps was located near the eastern homelots along the main street. To make this land usable, a long ditch was dug to drain the land.

Figure 68: Draft for the layout of the south end of Sunderland in 1714. Part of the town street can be seen at the top of the image. (Source: John Montague Smith, History of the Town of Sunderland.)

As for the original settlement at Sunderland, “the exact date...cannot be learned, but likely previous to the beginning of King Phillips War, in 1675.” The settlement was abandoned in 1675 when the war commenced, and the inhabitants returned to Hadley and Hatfield. Sunderland was resettled in 1715, and the town was again laid out and allotments given (Figure 68).

The main street was established eight rods wide, running north to south for approximately three-quarters of a mile. Highways extended from the main street to the east and west. The forty homelots were laid out “in two Roes of Houses with a street of eight rod wide betwixt said two (Roes) and the House Lots to be fourteen rod att front and Reer and in (Length) as the Platt will allow it.” Homelots generally contained three and one-half acres, and those proprietors with smaller lots were given additional lands within the meadows to make up the difference.

The meadows (both plowing and mowing fields) were laid out to the south of the town street, and each proprietor received a share in each division. All remaining undivided lands within the settlement boundary were held in common for the use of the inhabitants.

The first meetinghouse was built in 1717, and was located “in the centre of the street, with a travelled way on each side.”

The settlement was incorporated as the Town of Sunderland in 1718.
Present Condition

The original width of the town street (now North Main Street/Route 47) is now only indicated by the row of trees and the footpaths set well back from the tarmacadmamed road running north and south through the center (Figure 69). The old town street intersects at the southern end with Route 116. The street is varied in character, and is largely lined with commercial and civic structures near the Route 116 intersection, transitioning to a more residential context at the northern end of the street. A variety of shade trees line both sides of the road, including a significant sycamore specimen along the west side. A marker sits in front of this tree which states that this sycamore was standing at the time of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Telephone poles line the east side of the street.

There are unimpeded views along the length of the street, to both the intersection with Route 116 to the south, and to further residential areas and surrounding countryside to the north. The most significant view however, is that from Sugar Loaf across the Connecticut River northeast, toward North Main Street.

Views of the intervale meadows from Sugar Loaf as well as from current aerial photographs show no evidence of the open field pattern remaining within Sunderland.

Suffield, Connecticut (1674)

Settlement

Originally part of Massachusetts, and annexed to Connecticut in 1749, Suffield was settled in 1674. The right to establish the township, known then as Southfield, was granted by the Massachusetts General Court in 1670. The land granted then contained only approximately 500 acres of intervale land, a small amount in comparison with other Connecticut River towns.
The town was laid out in three roads, one each along three parallel ridges running north to south. The first street settled was that furthest west, known as Northampton Road, located the furthest west, with homelots located along the eastern side of the street. Along the next ridge to the east was located the High Street, with lots on both sides of the street (Figure 70). The third street, originally called "Fether Street" (now Feather Street) was located on the ridge nearest the river, again with lots on only one side of the street, this time however, on the west side. A portion of common land provided a buffer between this final street and the Connecticut River.

The town was abandoned in 1675, with the start of King Phillip's War, and no new grants of land were given. Following the war, in 1677, the town was inhabited again.

The first settlers of Suffield were apportioned land in grants of 40, 50, 60, or 80 acres, which were divided between house lot, meadow lots, and upland lots. Thus, each settler had 3 to 5 lots in different areas of the town. Remaining undivided lands were held in common for wood, timber and pasturage.

The division and allotment of town lands also provided for "a Convenient Piece of Land, of about 20 or 30 acres, laid out in the Center of the Town and set apart for the Common Use: as to set the Meeting House on, or School House, or for a Training Place, or any other Publick Use to be left Common." This common, or green, was located in the middle of the central of the three streets, or High Street (known today as Main Street). The town's first meeting house was located on the common, leaving "room enough...on the high land there for training and other uses, on either side of the Meeting House."

Present Condition

The Suffield Green today is bounded by roads on both sides, but unlike the Hadley and Wethersfield Commons, the roads are separately named. High Street forms the western boundary of the Green, while North/South Main Street runs along the eastern edge. The green

Figure 70: Map of Suffield between 1671 and 1684. (Source: Documentary History of Suffield.)
has been sectioned into four pieces by east-west roads which cross the Green. From north to south these roads are: Stiles Road, North Main Street Connector, and Mountain Road (Route 168). The southernmost section of the Green is isolated from the remainder due to heavy traffic on Route 168.

The level of the Green rises gently to the west in the two northern sections of the Green. This change in elevation becomes more pronounced as the Green nears the Route 168 intersection. The setting of the Green is largely commercial and institutional, with the buildings of Suffield Academy lining the west side of the Green. The busy Main Street and increased spacing between the commercial buildings across from the Green on the east side creates a more open, less defined space than those commons located in residential areas (Figure 71). Various species of trees line both lengths of the Green, including maple, beech, oak and birch. There are also trees scattered across the Green in the two lower sections, as well as adjacent to the North Main Street Connector. The view down the length of the Green is obscured by the random groupings of trees.

The Suffield Green houses a random collection of objects, including a telephone booth near the North Main Connector, a large sign for the Suffield Academy located in the center of the Green, a bandstand/pavilion, benches, litter bins, a flagpole, fire hydrant, and various memorials in the forms of a cannon, a large boulder and a statue topping a pillar near the Route 168 intersection. Within the southernmost section of the Green there is an asphalt channel and drain for stormwater run-off from Main Street. Telephone poles line both sides of the Green. Footpaths, both formal and informal, cross the Green from east to west.

There is no evidence from current aerial photographs of open field patterns existing within the town of Suffield.

**Enfield, Connecticut (1680)**

*Settlement*

The town of Enfield was settled in 1680 by a group of people from Salem, Massachusetts, and parts of Connecticut. The settlement was actually a part of Springfield, Massachusetts, until
1683, when it was incorporated as a separate town, still within the bounds of Massachusetts. Enfield was annexed to Connecticut, along with its neighbor Suffield across the river, in 1749. 335

The town was laid out, “on a ridge rising about 130 feet above, and ½ a mile to the east of the river. The main street was laid out (in 1680) on the top of this ridge, running parallel with the river.”336 In this settlement grants were given to each proprietor of a homelot and thirty, forty, fifty or sixty acres of farm land.337 Additional lands within the meadows were later added to the original land grant, with settlers receiving a portion of meadow land according to the amount of agricultural land previously granted. Those with thirty or forty acres of farm land received an additional four acres of meadow, those with fifty acres, five acres of meadow, and those with sixty acres, six acres of meadow land.338 Home lots were laid out along the main street, known today as Enfield Street (Figure 72). The main street was twelve rods wide, excepting the section from present-day South Road to Post Office Road, where it was increased to a width of twenty rods to provide a space for a parade ground and other civic functions. Emerging from this main street were three highways leading to the east, and two highways to the river to the west. Additional roads were added to the town as they were needed.339 From the beginning of the town, trees were valued and protected for their “shade and comeliness,” and town laws provided that all trees located along highways were to be protected.340

Agricultural lands first allotted to Enfield proprietors were those located along the Connecticut River.341 The sixty-four home lots originally laid out contained between ten and fourteen acres of land, and were ten to fourteen rods broad, and extended from the main street approximately 160 rods, either east or west toward the river.342
Present Condition

Enfield Street (Route 9) is a busy road which runs north-south through the center of the original town street, much the same as the Sunderland, Hatfield and Northfield town streets today. A footpath and a row of large shade trees line both sides of the street, and are set well back, indicating its original width as first laid out. A line of telephone poles runs along the east side of the street.

The parade ground or Green which lies between South Road and Post Office Road is bounded on the eastern side by the buildings of the Felician Sisters Order, which include the convent and a home and day care center for the aged. The Green rises in level gently to the east, elevating these structures slightly above the street. A double row of trees, in line with the trees along the length of the entire street, defines the western edge of the Green, while a single row lines the eastern edge. There are also scattered clusters of trees within the Green (Figure 73).

Overall, the surrounding character of the town street and Green is mixed, with homes, businesses, schools and churches adjacent to the street and Green.

Current aerial photographs give no indication of existing open fields within Enfield’s intervale meadows.

Analysis

While all of the towns reviewed were originally laid out as common street villages, the way the common in each town evolved varied. Several of these towns, namely Hatfield, Sunderland and Northfield, remain street villages (or towns) today, having developed no common. Other street villages, Deerfield and Enfield, set aside a parcel of land for a common which sat adjacent to the street, and did not evolve from the common street itself. The towns of Suffield, Wethersfield and Hadley all developed a central common, retaining a linear parcel of land at the center of the original town street. Of these three, the Suffield green is less recognizable as a common of this type, as its central location is much diminished by the heavy traffic and wide paved road along its eastern edge. The green almost appears as an extension of the grounds of the homes and
school which line its western edge. The context of this green is also largely commercial, with
the only residences adjacent to the green at the southernmost segment.

Of the towns with central linear commons, both Wethersfield and Hadley retain their residential
caracter. The pattern of the original settlement at Wethersfield today is not in evidence to the
same extent as the Hadley Common landscape. Though the Wethersfield Green still exists in
much the same form, the majority of the homelots along its edges have been subdivided. Only a
few lots on the northeast side of the Green retain the pattern of long homelots, as originally laid
out.

Of all the towns examined in this study, only Hadley and Hatfield contain any recognizable
remnants of the open field pattern. As Hatfield and Hadley were at their settlement, one town,
the meadows within both towns were part of a single, larger common field system. It is
interesting (though perhaps not pertinent) to note, that the only meadow in Hatfield that exhibits
this pattern of open fields today, was originally owned, for the large part, by proprietors on the
Hatfield side of the river. The remnants of the open field pattern at Hatfield however, are far less
extensive than those in existence at Hadley.

**Significance of the Hadley Common and Great Meadow**

The Hadley Common and Great Meadow landscape is one of historical significance. Many of
the defining characteristics and features of this landscape exist today, including the organization
of the Common itself, the surrounding homelots and the adjacent open field, retained within a
largely residential and agricultural setting. The double row of trees lining the lengths of the
Common, the layout of roads and highways, and the many homes and other structures which date
to the period of significance are also features which contribute to the significance of this
landscape.

The persistence of these characteristics and features and the integrity of the location, design,
setting and feeling of the Common and Great Meadow result in a landscape with significant
historical integrity.

In a regional context, the Hadley Common, a central common evolved from a street village
retains its original patterns of settlement, with long home lots lining both side of the Common. It
also largely retains its residential and agricultural character. Within the Great Meadow there
remains an extensive pattern of the open field landscape (largely north of Route 9), with both
strips and furlongs evident, adjacent to the Common and homelots as originally established.
Within the Connecticut River Valley, few or no open fields exist beyond those at Hadley (and
the small area at Hatfield). Though the Common and the homelots lining the Common are
historically significant in themselves, this landscape becomes even more significant locally and
regionally (and perhaps nationally) when considered along with the open field patterns extant in
the Great Meadow.
CONCLUSION

The Hadley Common and Great Meadow landscape is one of historical significance. This landscape of common street and associated common fields laid out in 1659 has seen a great deal of change. The period of significance suggested in this report covers those events which created the historically significant features of the Common and Great Meadow today, including: the settlement of the town in 1659 and the laying out of the broad street and the open fields; the transformation of the Common from a utilitarian space to one of ornamental value; the creation of a new town center, with the removal of the third meetinghouse from the Common, resulting in the view of the Common as the symbolic, though no longer the physical, heart of Hadley; the modernization of the Connecticut River Valley, bringing trains, trolleys and electricity to the Common; hurricanes and flooding, which altered the physical landscape of the Common and Great Meadow either directly, or due to efforts to prevent future damage; and the paving of Route 9, completing a pattern of east-west travel that exists today, which isolated the Common, preserving its residential and agricultural character. Despite these changes, the landscape retains many of the characteristics and features that give it historic integrity.

The Hadley Common and Great Meadow today is a unique landscape, locally and regionally. It is a remnant of a pattern of settlement that was once widespread throughout the Connecticut River Valley in the seventeenth century. The original layout of common street, long homelots and open field with furlongs and strips remain largely intact. Though included on the National Register of Historic Places in 1994, the Common and Great Meadow today are threatened by increasing development pressures, the widening of Route 9, and “shortcut” traffic through the historic landscape. The preservation of this historically significant, seventeenth century remnant landscape, once described as the “pride of all the citizens,” must become a priority for the people of Hadley if it is to retain its unique character.
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ENDNOTES

1 The rod (sometimes called a perch or a pole) was an English unit of measurement, standardized during the reign of the Norman kings (1066 – 1154) to equal 5.5 yards or 16.5 feet. The unit of measurement known as the foot had been fixed at an earlier date, at the present-day twelve inches. From Russ Rowlett and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, “How Many? A Dictionary of Units of Measurement.” University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, http://www.unc.edu/~rowlett/units/index.html (accessed 14 May 2007).

2 The town’s oldest cemetery is also contained within the boundary extension, and is overseen by the town’s Cemetery Commission.

3 This width was ascertained by measuring the 1999 Hampshire County Assessor’s maps. The decrease in the width of the common is also mentioned by Hadley historian Sylvester Judd. See Sylvester Judd, The History of Hadley (Springfield, Mass: H.R. Hunting and Company, 1976), 419.

4 The number of parcels in the Great Meadow given here include only those parcels located within the project’s study boundaries.

5 Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management, Town Common Preservation Initiative 2000, Common Wealth: how to protect the heritage and invest in the future of your town common (Boston, Mass: Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management, 2001), 57.

6 Many prehistoric archaeological sites exist in Hadley. A 1978 survey of Hadley recognizes 73 within the town boundaries, but few sites exist on the Hadley peninsula itself, although it is known the land was inhabited prior to the English settlement. From Dena Dincauze, “Prehistoric Archaeological Resources in Hadley, Massachusetts: a 1978 assessment with recommendations for protection” (Amherst, Mass: University of Massachusetts, Department of Anthropology, 1978, photocopied), 4. This relative dearth of sites in this area, when compared with the richness of archaeological sites in other areas of Hadley, is likely due to the constant flooding of the meadow plain, the erosive action of the river, and also the constant disruption of the earth in the agricultural process. However, further evaluation is required to determine whether sites of archaeological significance exist in the meadow plain of the peninsula. Therefore, this issue has not been specifically addressed in this study, although it is recognized that there is a possibility of artifacts existing within the study boundaries of prehistoric significance.


8 Page, Gilbert and Dolan, 53.

9 Page, Gilbert and Dolan, 142.


11 Hoskins, 59-60.

12 Hoskins, 63.

13 Hoskins, 60-61.


15 Hoskins, 142.


17 Hoskins, 48-49.

18 Hoskins, 279.


20 Gray, 9.


22 The English origins of the Hadley proprietors were determined using birth and death and/or burial dates as listed in the genealogy compiled by Lucius M. Boltwood, included within Judd’s History of Hadley. These names and dates were then applied to a genealogical search engine (see http://www.familysearch.org) to determine birth locations. Birth locations were not available for all of the original Hadley proprietors.


Fox, 65.

26 Gray, 40.

27 Taylor, 13.

28 Fox, 40.

29 Gray, 47.


Baker and Butlin, 298.

Baker and Butlin, 308.

Gray, 323.

Baker and Butlin, 291-292.

Gray, 325.

Hoskins, 142.

Gray, 329.

Hoskins, 48-49.

Hoskins, 141-143.

Hoskins, 178.

Hoskins, 142.

Hoskins, 142.

Orwin and Orwin, 67.

Baker and Butlin, 367.

Baker and Butlin, 308.

Baker and Butlin, 287-289.

Hoskins, 178.

Baker and Butlin, 367.

Hoskins, 180.


Meinig, 104.


Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management, 12.

Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management, 12.


Andrews, 69.

Andrews, 44.


Andrews, 64.
68 St. George, 346.
70 St. George, 346.
71 Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management, 17-18.
72 Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management, 17.
73 Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management, 23.
74 Dincauze, 1.
75 Judd, 97-98.
77 Judd, 105.
79 Judd, 1-2.
80 Judd, 3.
81 Judd, 3.
82 Judd, iii.
83 Judd, 11.
84 Judd, 106-107.
86 Judd, 13-14.
88 Judd, 23.
89 Judd, 33.
90 Judd, 34.
91 Judd, 72.
92 Judd, 103.
93 Josiah G. Holland, History of Western Massachusetts. The counties of Hampden, Hampshire, Franklin, and Berkshire. Embracing an outline, or general history, of the section, an account of its scientific aspects and leading interests, and separate histories of its one hundred towns, volume 2, part 3 (Springfield, Mass: S. Bowles and Company, 1855), 219.
94 Judd, 16.
95 Judd, 23.
96 While it is unknown when these areas of the Great Meadow were named, it is apparent that most of these titles were in use by 1665, as they are included in proprietor's records from that year (see Proprietor's Clerk, Hadley Massachusetts, Hadley Proprietor's Records, 1665-1779, 10, 12, 51 (Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah; Hadley, Massachusetts, 1665-1779), microfilm.) However, the use of the name "Honeypot" is not evident in this record, so it is assumed that it is of later date.
97 The Hadley Proprietor's Records 1665-1779 (Proprietor's Clerk, Hadley, Massachusetts, 29), indicate that the Maple Swamp was renamed Aquavitae. From the date indicated in this particular record (that of Deacon Nathaniel Dickinson), it appears that this change occurred prior to 1685.
99 Judd, 23.
101 Judd, 242.
John W. Barber, *Historical Collections: being a general collection of interesting facts, traditions, biographical sketches, anecdotes, etc., relating to the history and antiquities of every town in Massachusetts, with geographical descriptions* (Worcester, Mass: Dorr, Howland & Co., 1839), 322-323.
149 Sylvester, 332.
150 Sylvester, 345.
151 Judd, 430.
152 Judd, 422.
153 Judd, 430. From the journal of Paul Coffin, entry July 29, 1760
154 Judd, 419. From the diary of John Adams.
155 Judd, 422.
157 Judd, 370-375.
158 Walker, 68-69.
159 Hampshire Gazette (Northampton, Mass.), 9 September 1836 and 7 December 1841.
161 Map of the Town of Hadley in 1830, in the collection of the W.E.B. Du Bois Library, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Mass.
162 Barber, “Historical Collections,” 322.
163 Map of the Town of Hadley in 1830, in the collection of the W.E.B. Du Bois Library, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Mass.
164 Judd, 419.
165 Judd, 419.
166 Judd, 242.
167 Barber, “Historical Collections,” 322.
168 Judd, 356.
169 Judd, 376.
170 Judd, 361.
171 Walker, 114.
172 Map of the Town of Hadley in 1830, in the collection of the W.E.B. Du Bois Library, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Mass.
173 Town Records for 18 April 1791, photocopy from the files of the Hadley Historical Commission.
175 Refer to the Walking Tour of West Street, available at the Hadley Town Hall and the Hadley Historical Society for more information on these historic properties.
176 Walker, 110.
177 Judd, 422.
178 Judd, 422.
179 White, 8.
180 Judd, 430.
182 Holland, 220.
183 Town of Hadley, Massachusetts, Annual Reports of the Selectmen, Overseers of Poor, Treasurer, and Town Clerk of the Town of Hadley, for the Year Ending February 9, 1884, together with the Report of the School Committee (Northampton, Mass: Press of Star City Printing House, 1884), 6.
184 Judd, “Appendix,” 462.
185 Holland, 220.
188 Sylvester, 330.
189 Sylvester, 330.
190 Callahan, 65-67.
191 Sylvester, 330.
192 Sylvester, 330.
193 Judd, 420.
194 Sylvester, 89.
195 Judd, 419.
Judd, 364.


Holland, 220.

Judd, “Appendix,” 460.


Judd, “Appendix,” 466.

Hampshire Gazette (Northampton, Mass.), 30 August 1915.

Holland, 215.

“Building form, 24 West Street, Massachusetts Historical Commission.” Files of the Hadley Historical Commission, Hadley, Massachusetts.


Judd, 460. From the “Appendix to the Present Edition: notes on the recent history of the town, being the record of important events down to 1905.”

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Holland, Massachusetts, 19.

Judd, 430.


Judd, “Appendix,” 470.

Johnson, 55.

Hampshire Gazette (Northampton, Mass.), 13 October 1904.

Holland, Massachusetts, 36-37.


“The Restoration of Hadley’s Monarch Elm,” Hampshire Gazette (Northampton, Mass), 6 August 1935. We have as yet not been able to determine the precise location of this historic tree, nor when it was removed.


R.A. Scotti, Sudden Sea: the great hurricane of 1938 (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 2003), 121-123.

233 Files of the Hadley Historical Society.

234 Judd, 421.

235 Judd, 39.

236 Sylvester, 338.


238 Judd, 470.


240 Mabel West, Chairman, Hadley Historical Commission, to Donald Pipczynski, Chairman, Board of Selectmen, 8 August 1984, copy in the files of the Hadley Historical Commission, Hadley, Massachusetts. The letter mentions the removal of two houses from West Street, though it does not specify which.

241 Irene Steiner may have known the structure already, since she had attended Mount Holyoke College in South Hadley. Her scrapbooks detailing the history of the house and photographs associated with its dismantling can be found in the college’s special collections and archives.

242 John S. Mish, interview by Holly Czajkowski and Aurelia Grant Wingate, 16 April 2004.


244 Conway School of Landscape Design, 5-6.


246 “When, If Ever, is a common not a common?” *The Amherst (Mass.) Record*, 19 April 1977, p. 5.

247 “When, If Ever, is a common not a common?” *The Amherst (Mass.) Record*, 19 April 1977, p. 5.

248 Hadley Historical Commission, Statement regarding West Street at Zoning Board of Appeals Hearing on 16 March 1977, copy in the files of the Hadley Historical Commission, Hadley, Massachusetts.

249 “Podolak Turns to Selectmen,” *The Amherst (Mass.) Record*, 13 April 1977, p. 16.

250 “Podolak Turns to Selectmen,” *The Amherst (Mass.) Record*, 13 April 1977, p. 16.


256 E. Etheridge, to the Hadley Selectboard, 12 November 2001, copy in the files of the Hadley Historical Commission, Hadley, Massachusetts.


259 Alexandra Dawson, Hadley Conservation Commission, to John W. Hoey, Jr., Highway Director, 26 January 1998, copy in the files of the Hadley Historical Commission, Hadley, Massachusetts.


261 Hadley Historical Commission, Margaret C. Dwyer, Secretary, to the Hadley Selectboard, 24 February, 1986, copy in the files of the Hadley Historical Commission, Hadley, Massachusetts.


While these structures are significant, they have been adequately described in other publications, so the architectural details of these buildings was not focused on in this report. The *Walking Tour of West Street*, available at the Hadley Town Hall and the Hadley Historical Society, is an excellent resource for those interested in the history of the homes along the street.

Proprietor’s Clerk, Hadley, Massachusetts, 17. The record entry states that in John Webster’s will he gave one half of all his “allotments or lands granted unto him by the Towne of Hadley” to his son William Webster, including his house lot and his allotments in the meadows.

Aerial photographs consulted for this analysis were from Windows Live Local (http://maps.live.com). Photographs on this site were obtained from the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) and were taken between 1990 and 1998.


Lockwood, Bagg, Carson, Riley, Boltwood, and Clark, 301.

Lockwood, Bagg, Carson, Riley, Boltwood, and Clark, 712.

Holland, 354.


Roberts, 370.

Sheldon, George, 25-26, 42.
298 Sheldon, George, 18.
299 Roberts, 369.
300 Roberts, 373.
301 Roberts, 374.
302 Lockwood, Bagg, Carson, Riley, Boltwood, and Clark, 717.
303 Lockwood, Bagg, Carson, Riley, Boltwood, and Clark, 714-715.
304 J.H. Temple and George Sheldons, A History of the Town of Northfield, Massachusetts, for 150 years, with an account of the prior occupation of the territory by the Squakheags: and with family genealogies (Albany, New York: Joel Munsell, 1875), 51.
305 Temple and Sheldons, 2.
306 Barber, “Historical Collections,” 265.
307 Temple and Sheldons, 64.
308 Temple and Sheldons, 13.
309 Temple and Sheldons, 66.
310 Temple and Sheldons, 64-65.
312 Temple and Sheldons, 79, 82.
314 Northfield, Massachusetts, 101.
315 Barber, “Historical Collections,” 272; Lockwood, Bagg, Carson, Riley, Boltwood, and Clark, 777.
316 Lockwood, Bagg, Carson, Riley, Boltwood, and Clark, 777.
318 Lockwood, Bagg, Carson, Riley, Boltwood, and Clark, 777.
319 Lockwood, Bagg, Carson, Riley, Boltwood, and Clark, 777.
320 Smith, 12.
321 Barber, “Historical Collections,” 273.
322 Smith, 12-13.
323 Smith, 12-13, 16.
324 Smith, 16.
325 Smith, 30.
326 Smith, 52.
327 Barber, “Historical Collections,” 272.
329 Sheldon, Hezekiah Spencer, 8.
330 Sheldon, Hezekiah Spencer, 14.
331 Sheldon, Hezekiah Spencer, 24-25.
332 Sheldon, Hezekiah Spencer, 57.
333 Sheldon, Hezekiah Spencer, 17.
334 Roberts, 277.
335 Bridge, 18.
336 Roberts, 279.
337 Roberts, 278.
339 Bridge, 12.
340 Bridge, 12.
341 Bridge, 60.
342 Bridge, 61.
343 Judd, “Appendix,” 470.